



The Antiquary.



NOVEMBER, 1902.

Notes of the Month.

THE chief academical ceremony in connection with the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the Bodleian Library took place on October 9 in the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, and despite the fact that term had not then commenced, was very numerous attended by senior members of the University. The proceedings included the presentation of addresses by representatives of British and foreign Universities, the conferment of numerous honorary degrees, and the delivery of a Latin oration by the Public Orator, Rev. Dr. Merry, Rector of Lincoln College. Later many of those present were conducted over the library, where they were shown some of its most valuable possessions.

The celebration was brought to a conclusion with a grand banquet in the hall of Christ Church, at which the Vice-Chancellor presided. Sir R. Jebb proposed the toast of "The Pious Memory of Sir Thomas Bodley." Referring to the library, he said never had any similar institution of comparable rank been in the same sense the creation of one man. Bodley had, indeed, won an imperishable crown—a crown of immense gratitude, which knew no limit of country or of age. Sir E. Maunde Thompson gave "The Bodleian Library." Dr. Ince, the senior curator, replied. He said they greatly needed funds for their work. People could confer no greater benefit on learning in general in England than by placing within the control of the University some ample means for the extension and enlargement of the Bodleian

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Library. The United States Ambassador at Berlin (Dr. White), in acknowledging the toast of "The Visitors," proposed by Sir William Anson, M.P., said he firmly believed, whatever might be the utterance of sensation-mongers, jingo orators, and the yellow press in various countries, that the multiplication of such celebrations as these, ineffective as at first sight they might seem in promoting peace, were likely to render great service in that direction.

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"I pray you write to John Smith that I may be furnished against Easter with a thousand chains." Thus, it is interesting to recall in connection with the tercentenary of the Bodleian Library, did Sir Thomas Bodley address "good Mr. James," the first librarian, who received £40 a year, in order that "if God send my books safe out of Italy" each should be safeguarded. The volumes were chained to the desks, and readers were enjoined to fasten the clasps and strings, to untangle the chains, and to leave the books as they found them. Bodley did not believe in giving admission to all and sundry: "A grant of so much scope would but minister occasion of daily pestering all the room with their gazing and babbling and trampling up and down, disturbing out of measure the endeavours of those that are studious."

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Lady Gregory contributes to the October *Monthly Review* some translations from the Irish of quaint songs sung by the peasantry in the West of Ireland, particularly in Galway and the Arran Isles, which she has collected herself. Her own opinion of the Irish folk ballads she expresses thus: "The very naïveté, the simplicity of these ballads make one feel that the peasants who make and sing them may be trembling on the edge of a great discovery, and that some day, perhaps very soon, one born among them will put their half-articulate, eternal sorrows and laments and yearnings into words that will be their expression for ever, as was done for the Hebrew people."

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Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt writes: "I should be glad to learn whether there is any probability that the James Shirley mentioned as officiat-

ing in 1622 as Treasurer of the New Plymouth Planation was the dramatist of that name. He was then twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age. I perceive that in the latest biographies there is a gap between 1619 and 1623, leaving the transactions of those years to be accounted for."

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New light has been thrown on "The Dance of Death" in art (which was so long regarded as a peculiarity of the Renaissance period) by a recent "find" in Egypt, says the *Athenæum* of October 11, which has just been presented to the Louvre Museum. Until the last century it was supposed that ancient art avoided the representation of the skeleton. The first proof to the contrary was exhibited by the discovery of the Boscoreale silver treasure, now also in the possession of the Louvre. Among other artistic works in this collection there are two silver bowls ornamented with skeletons. After attention had once been called to this discovery the occurrence of skeletons upon antique gems and terra cottas began to be noticed. A writer in the *Kölnische Zeitung* asserts that the artistic use of the skeleton had its roots in the art of Alexandria, which, in contrast to that of ancient Greece, showed a marked preference for realistic figures, and even for artistic rendering of the grotesque, abnormal, and horrible. The recent Egyptian gift to the Louvre exhibits "skeleton-art," to use the writer's phrase, in much the same fashion and perhaps with the same twofold moral as we are familiar with in Holbein and his contemporaries. Upon an earthen drinking-cup, richly painted and ornamented, there are seven dancing and grinning skeletons, each of whom is whirling with drunken joviality a Bacchic thyrsus. The figures seem to be saying to the drinkers who used the cup, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow you will be one of us." This, as the writer observes, was the real Alexandrian philosophy of life. From the point of art, however, it is a fresh proof that when a school of artists endeavours to start upon an entirely new road it often unconsciously stumbles into an old one.

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The new volume of the Historical Manuscripts Commission deals with the papers in the possession of the Marquis of Ormonde at

Kilkenny Castle. These are only a remnant, but an interesting remnant, of the great mass of documents left by the first Duke of Ormond—he did not use the final "e"—the great Royalist and friend of Charles II. The most interesting of the Duke's papers are included in the Carte collection in the Bodleian Library.

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In another recent publication of the Commission—the ninth part of the calendar of the Cecil Manuscripts—there is a curious glimpse of a man whose name is well known to antiquaries. Among the miscellaneous letters addressed to the great Elizabethan statesman is one from a Mr. Thomas Browne, who sets forth in detail the cruel persecutions suffered by "Ralph Agas, a skilled surveyor of lands dwelling at Stoke, next Nayland, in Suffolk," whereby his protégé, with his family, is threatened with utter ruin. This Agas is, we take it, no other than the Ralph Agas to whom we are indebted for that wonderful old folding map, or bird's-eye view, of London in the days of Elizabeth, which is prized by all Shakespearean students.

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Owing to the Strand improvement scheme one of the oldest Roman Catholic churches in London, that of SS. Anselm and Cecilia, in Sardinia Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, is to disappear. Its foundation dates back to 1648, when it was the chapel of the Sardinian Embassy, and was one of the old embassy chapels in London enjoying the protection of foreign Courts. During the "Gordon Riots" the Sardinian Chapel was burnt down by the mob, while those of Warwick Street and Wapping suffered severely. From an architectural point of view the Lincoln's Inn church is an interesting piece of old work, the sanctuary being generally believed to be by Inigo Jones.

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From Athens it is reported that M. Sotiriadis, superintendent of antiquities, in the course of excavations near Chæronea, in Bœotia, has discovered the spot where, according to Plutarch, the Macedonians buried their dead after their fateful victory. A number of skeletons (Reuter says) have been unearthed in a good state of preservation, and near one of them

was found a large pike of the kind which was used by the Macedonian soldiery.



The Library Association held its annual meeting at Birmingham on September 23 and following days. Most of the papers read were either of a technical or general literary character. Among those which touched upon the work of the past may be named "John Baskerville and his Work"—an appropriate topic in Birmingham—by Mr. R. K. Dent, and "An Italian Librarian of the Seventeenth Century: Antonio Magliabecchi," by our contributor, Dr. W. E. A. Axon.



An interesting find of ancient Roman coins was recently made by two Italian peasants named Silvestrelli at Vergnacco, near Udine. The *Popolo Romano* states that, while working among the foundations of an old house belonging to them, they came upon an amphora filled with ancient silver coins in a beautiful state of preservation. They bore the effigies of Julius Cæsar, Marc Antony, and Augustus, and other Emperors. Some bore the impress of the historic she-wolf.



During the construction of the new main line of the Great Western and Great Central Railway Companies in the neighbourhood of High Wycombe, Bucks, an ancient flint-mine was discovered in the first week of October in the course of excavating a hill overlooking the old rifle-butts. The cutting shows that the chalk has been disturbed by man right across it for a considerable depth. In place of the usual hard layers of chalk and rows of flint strata, the visitor sees masses of crumbled chalk mingled with sand and lumps of clay. Many of the disintegrated blocks bear the marks made by the stag's-horn picks of the prehistoric workmen. Another peculiarity about this hill is that it has been, as the sides of the cutting show, ransacked of its layers of flint. The cutting on the adjacent hill contains many flints. The above facts, coupled with the discovery of a pick made of the antler of a stag, with its points worn smooth by tapping the chalk, prove that this is the site of an ancient flint-mine, where many centuries ago the inhabitants of the Chilterns obtained the material wherewith to make their

axes, knives, spears, and arrows. The hill has evidently been worked with great industry over a long period of years, and systematically despoiled of its stores of flints.



Among Mr. David Nutt's announcements for the autumn and winter season we note several folk-lore books which should be of interest—Dr. Maclagan's *The Evil Eye in the Superstitious Beliefs and Practices of the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders*, a supplement to Mr. Elworthy's work on the subject; two numbers of the second series of *Popular Studies in Romance, Mythology, and Folk-Lore*, with new volumes in the "Grimm Library," and of the publications of the Irish Texts Society, and the first volume of a new "Irish Saga Library." The last-named will be *The Courtship of Ferb*, an old Irish romance, probably composed in the eighth or ninth century, and transcribed in the twelfth century into the Book of Leinster. It will be translated into English prose and verse by Mr. A. H. Leahy, and will be issued with frontispiece, decorative title-page, and decorative cover by Miss Caroline Watts, at the modest price of 2s. net. It is much to be hoped that this new development of Mr. Nutt's scholarly enterprise may be entirely successful.



The crannog at Langbank on the south side of the Clyde, the discovery of which was recorded at p. 156 of last year's *Antiquary*, has been further explored by Mr. John Bruce, F.S.A. Scot. A Glasgow newspaper says: "The present series of explorations has shown the plan on which the framework of the crannog has been put together. There is a main circle from 60 to 63 feet in diameter. Within the circle, the outer line of which consists of timbers laid end to end, and retained by piles driven vertically into the blue mud at the bottom of the Clyde, are two timber frameworks made of logs crossing and recrossing each other. Among the bones found in the timberwork are deer horns, on which some sharp instrument has been used, and pieces of shale with inscribed ornaments, one of the ornaments being a rude representation of a face. Some hammered stones are supposed to be the remains

of early stone implements. However, a bronze fibula is the most distinctive and interesting of the 'finds.' It is of the usual shape of early brooches—that is, the circle is left incomplete. The pin, it may be stated, is still in position. It is very small, being only $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. Great care has been taken by Mr. Bruce to preserve as far as possible the plan of both structures." A committee of the Glasgow Archaeological Society has been giving aid in the work of exploration, which is now stopped for the winter.



In 1538, when Henry VIII. rooted up Thomas à Becket's grave and erased his name from the scroll of saints, he also ordered that all pictures, stained-glass windows, and frescoes bearing upon the life of the saint should be destroyed. In some churches where St. Thomas was held in special honour the law was evaded by superimposing another picture over the forbidden one. On the north wall of the church at South Newington, near Banbury, there is a crudely executed fresco of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. From the effects of age and damp this fresco is gradually disappearing, and now through the colossal donkey on which our Lord is represented riding can be seen the figure of the murdered Archbishop, prone on the chancel steps. Gradually, possibly, the whole underlying fresco of the murder of St. Thomas at Canterbury will come into view, and it is evidently of far higher artistic merit than the hastily-executed covering one.



Several other discoveries are reported from various parts of the country. Mr. Talfourd Ely has been digging on the Roman site in Hayling Island, and says that considerable light has thus been thrown on the arrangement and plan of the buildings excavated by him in previous years. The remains of a Roman villa, with hypocaust, have been found at Penydarren Park, Merthyr. At Pennance Farm, Budock, Cornwall, a labourer lately unearthed two Roman coins of Constantinus and Maximianus in splendid condition. In the north, most interesting work has been done by the Scottish Society of Antiquaries on the site of the Roman

camp at Castlecary, Dumbarton. The outline of the whole camp, which is 450 feet from east to west by 350 feet north and south, can be traced, and the massive outer wall, nearly 8 feet thick, has come as a great surprise even to experts such as Mr. Haverfield, who has said that there is no finer specimen of Roman work in Britain. The north gateway is uncovered, with the drains and latrines to the east; in a long building, also on the east, some handfuls of black wheat were discovered. Large quantities of charred wheat were found here about a hundred years ago, when the place was a kind of quarry. The North British Railway cuts the camp in two to the east of Castlecary station. The excavations in the field to the south of the railway have resulted in displaying the south gateway and what is evidently a guard-house at the west corner. A well has been examined for some 30 feet to the north of the railway embankment. It is possible that the workmen may go down some 10 feet further. Some sandals and the remains of footgear have been unearthed in various stages of decay. From the well, preserved in peat, what is believed to be a ballista bullet was picked up lately. The "finds" of importance have already been lodged with Dr. Anderson for the Antiquarian Museum. Several interesting sketches of the Castlecary discoveries appeared in the *Illustrated London News* of October 4.



Mr. F. G. Hilton Price, the author of *A History of London Bankers*, is now engaged in revising his book, *The Signs of Old Lombard Street*, a new edition of which will be published shortly by the Leadenhall Press, Limited. Since the first edition appeared the author has succeeded in unearthing other signs which had escaped his former researches. The new edition will contain much additional matter on this fascinating subject, and will be issued at a popular price.



Amongst the forthcoming publications of the Royal Historical Society in its "Camden Series," vol. x. of the *Camden Miscellany* will contain the texts of two contemporary diaries of some importance. One of these

is the journal of Sir Thomas Hoby during his embassies on the Continent under Edward VI. and Mary, edited by Mr. Edgar Powell; the other is the commonplace book of Sir Roger Wilbraham, Master of the Requests under Elizabeth and James I. The latter, which has been edited for the Society by Mr. Spencer Scott, will, it is believed, be found to preserve some important State papers, including reports of Council meetings and royal speeches in Parliament which possibly do not exist elsewhere.



The *Builder* of October 4 had a very interesting article on the great church at Hartland—the “cathedral of North Devon,” as it has often been called—with an excellent description of its finest feature, “the singularly handsome and effective screen which stretches right across the nave and aisles in a line with the east wall of the small transepts.” The church accounts for the seventeenth century, which are still extant, show that the screen was twice painted during that period at a cost of about 10s. each time.



The German Oriental Society has been most successful in its explorations at Abu-Sir in Egypt, and most interesting “finds” were distributed among the Berlin museums during the month of October. One of the most important discoveries was a perfectly preserved mummy of Jen Em Jechvet, the high priest of the temple, who died about 2,000 years before Christ. The body was found in a family vault, which also contained the remains of his priest and reader and their wives. Only three tombs of such an age have been found in good preservation during the last century, and this is the first time that the contents have been brought safely to Europe. Jen lay in his coffin enveloped in a brown linen shroud, just as he had been placed there 4,000 years ago. In accordance with the fashion of the time, he has small side-whiskers and a longer tuft on his chin, and his eyes are made to appear unnaturally long by means of the careful application of rouge. The wig, which is large and parted down the middle, has a

bluish tint verging on green, and must originally have been the colour of lapis lazuli, in imitation of the hair worn by Egyptian gods. The mummy was lying slightly on the left side, as Egyptians sleep to-day, and the head rested on a support such as is still in use in the Soudan. The eyes are turned towards the rising sun. Two staffs were found beside the body, and a little wooden statue.



The Rev. T. G. Crippen, the librarian of the Congregational Library in Farringdon Street, recently made an interesting “find” of great historical interest. A parcel of letters, which has remained unopened for many years, was mislabelled, and when opened was found to contain papers ranging in date from 1621 to about 1850. The oldest document refers to certain transactions affecting Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and is signed by Lawrence Chadderton, the first Master of that famous seminary. An undated letter from one J. Ball, somewhere in the West Country, severely criticises Archbishop Williams, and charges him with obstructing a movement for settling a large number of Protestant Bohemian refugees in England lest their influence should strengthen Puritanism. A letter of particular interest, says the *Daily News*, is dated July, 1692, from one evidently writing with some authority, which indicates a half-formed project in the mind of King William III. of making some partial restitution to the poorer Nonconformists who had been plundered at the time of the Revolution, and an undated letter, probably written a few months before the Revolution, narrates the persecution endured by a village tradesman in Devonshire on account of his Nonconformity. Other documents of importance include letters addressed to Robert Nelson, the non-juror, several letters written to Zachary Gray, the antagonist of Daniel Neal; a number of American autographs, including two MS. sermons by Cotton Mather, and a holograph letter of four foolscap pages by Jonathan Edwards. There are some letters referring to the Chatterton forgeries, and an autograph memorandum by Robert Raikes, the so-called founder of Sunday-schools. Many of the important, together with the most curious of these papers

and letters will, it is expected, be published among the future *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society.



A firm of auctioneers advertising lately the sale of a mansion known as Tooting Hall, Mitcham Road, Tooting, announced that the building was of exceptional interest from the literary point of view, as it was for years the residence of Daniel Defoe; and some of the newspapers improved upon this by stating that *Robinson Crusoe* was written within the walls of the Hall. But this myth was exploded long ago. Mr. W. E. Morden, in his *History of Tooting*, shows that the house in question was built long after Defoe's day.



At the first meeting of the Bibliographical Society for the new session, held on October 20, Mr. Falconer Madan read "Notes on the Oxford Press, especially with reference to fluctuations in its output." At the second meeting, on November 17, Mr. Charles Sayle will read a paper on "English Initial Letters."



The Later Conspiracy under Mary Tudor.

BY CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.



AFTER a happy and brilliant childhood, a youth of constant humiliation and repression, and a brave, short, and successful struggle with Northumberland, Mary Tudor, the first Princess of Wales, was proclaimed the first Queen Regnant of England in August, 1553. Since the Conquest no other woman, except Matilda, had been named in the succession. Mary had no Stephen to intervene; the claims of the Red and White Roses were united in her person; her father had by will left her the crown after her brother Edward VI. But he had branded her with illegitimacy, which was a legal bar to the succession, and by that will he had limited her in all her actions through the Council he had chosen. Never sovereign came to a throne with higher ideals, nor sat on it with

a more abiding sense of responsibility. Mary had three chief aims—to rehabilitate the good name of her sainted mother, to make firm her position as a woman upon the throne, and to bring back her erring country to the fold of the true Church.

Her first act was to declare her mother's divorce unlawful and her own birth legitimate; her second to abrogate all Edward's laws concerning religion and the marriage of priests. She opened the next year by enacting the great charter of womanhood, by the right reading of which all the legal and illegal quibbles about the eligibility of women to public offices might have been avoided. For the Act declares that the kingly office and prerogative are the same, whether vested in male or female. All powers of a King belong to a Queen, sex making no distinction in privilege.

Hardly had she seated herself upon the throne than the question of her marriage arose. She felt that she could best fulfil what she conceived to be her mission by a union with a powerful Catholic Prince. Philip, son of her old friend and cousin the Emperor, presented every advantage except that of suitability in age. But great crowned heads had too limited a range of selection to insist on every desirable point. She was politic, if not patriotic, in her decision. She overbore some of her Council by her determination, and others were enlightened by Spanish gold. But she had to dismiss one Parliament and pack another before even a show of assent could be wrung from the members. Mary knew, but ignored, the feelings of her people. By January, 1533-34, the marriage articles were finally settled, and the marriage published by the Bishop of Winchester, and "heavily taken of sundry men." Protestants trembled for their threatened religious liberty, and patriotic Englishmen of both creeds for their country's independence. Could Mary not be contented with Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, descended from the second daughter of Edward IV., as she from the elder? He was English at least, though prison-bred, and weak of will.

There was active discontent both in the East and West Country. But there is a long stride between discontent and rebellion. This stride was taken, perhaps unconsciously,

as he stated afterwards, by Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the Renaissance poet. He expected the country would rise with him to bear witness against the unpopular marriage. His rash march to London, the excitement in the Metropolis, the terror in the Court, the brave demeanour of the Queen, her trust in Pembroke, his skilful management of affairs, the *mêlée* near Charing Cross, and the surrender of the leader, have often been fully dealt with. The execution of Wyatt was a necessary consequence. Her advisers assured Mary that it was her previous clemency which had made her hands weak, and, acting on their suggestions, she struck the first note of a severity foreign to her nature, yet always associated with her name. The Duke of Suffolk's association, after a free pardon, with Wyatt, led not only to his just execution, but to the execution of his daughter, the Lady Jane, and of her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley.

Mary went on with her matrimonial plans, was formally betrothed in March, and married in July, and from that time the influence of Philip told on her government in a double way: her decisions concerning the Church were coloured by his foreign religious advisers, and her insular policy was determined by the needs and schemes of Spain. She laid down her father's hard-won title of Head of the Church, and handed back her ecclesiastical polity to the dominance of the Pope. She repaired and reopened, so far as she could, the monasteries, and would have restored the Church lands had not the present holders made clear to her that they would not brook interference with their possessions. She restored what she could from Crown property.

Through her submission to the Church her ecclesiastics wrought on her conscience until her natural clemency gave way, and she left in their hands the fate of heretics. They promptly revealed their scheme. Dissent was to be terrorized into submission. The first to suffer martyrdom, on February 4, 1554-55, was John Rogers, Prebendary of St. Paul's and Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, the editor and part-translator of *Matthew's Bible*. Thereafter fire after fire was kindled, and the smoke thereof spread abroad amidst the people clouds of wrath,

protest, and discontent, rather than terror. The influence of a Spanish King was unquestionably bad in the council-chamber of an English Queen. For the first time Englishmen became doubtful of the virtue of wifely obedience. They writhed as they saw their King becoming more powerful by the threatened retirement of his father the Emperor, treat England as a subordinate part of his own domains, and draw thence both troops and money for his Continental wars against his clear agreement. His coldness, his pride, his ignorance of the English character, all tended to make men dislike Philip personally. It did not mend matters when he began to neglect their Queen. The expectation of a royal heir kept the people anxious for a time, and the disappointment therein happened in the manner most galling to the national spirit. They became indignant with the Queen for this misfortune, and more determined than ever that Philip should not be crowned. And then he went abroad in September, 1555. The depressing events of her life, the asceticism of her religion, the unsatisfied yearnings of her affectionate heart, the continued inclemency of the weather, the unprosperous state of the country, and the far-reaching echoes of her people's murmurings, produced in Mary's heart a profound gloom. The constitutional weakness which had carried off all the other children of Henry and Catharine began to assert itself in her. She failed rapidly. She was accounted an old woman at thirty-seven, an age at which her sister Elizabeth frolicked and flirted with juvenile enjoyment.

Her Churchmen urged her to more activity in the matter of heresy. Many of her Protestant subjects fled abroad, though every port was watched. The people murmured among themselves: Was there to be a new conquest of England by the Spaniards? Was the Spanish religion to be forced on the English people by Spanish methods? Rumours of plots filled the air, foreshadowings of plots absorbed the Council. The Lady Elizabeth was surrounded by spies; her servants were always being arrested and examined.

The outcome of many minor schemes, the union of many centres of discontent, the

second plot of Mary's reign was planned under circumstances that yet require elucidation. The inspiration was purely patriotic, and not personal, not even altogether religious. The Spanish marriage had split the English Catholic party into two, and many patriotic spirits of that faith joined the ranks of discontent. It was a more thorough and more leisurely plot than Wyatt's, practicable too, and with a reasonable prospect of success. Had the Earl of Pembroke moved in it, as some of the conspirators seemed to think he intended to do, there is no doubt that its aims would have become accomplished facts.

The importance of this second plot has been belittled by historians. It is hardly alluded to in the Reports of the Proceedings of the Privy Council, but that is probably owing to the profound secrecy with which the affair had to be dealt with. It had been revealed to Cardinal Pole, and he was justly doubtful of the attitude even of some of the Council towards it. A careful study of the State Papers shows how widespread were its ramifications. Unfortunately the clerk employed in the chief examinations wrote a villainous hand. Froude, at least, did not take the trouble to decipher many of his hieroglyphics. Thereby he confuses some of the names, incidents, and dates, and has missed the whole of the set in which I am most concerned.

The main idea was to banish the Spaniards, to get back England for the English, to send the Queen over to her husband wherever he might be, to crown in her place Elizabeth, first marrying her to the Earl of Devonshire, her nearest male relative of the blood royal of England. There were four chief branches of the main plot, each carried on by members having little communication with each other, but having a sublime confidence that they would all work together to make their country free, and that, when the time was ripe, the Lords, as well as the people, would join them, instead of opposing them. They thought they could find legal support for their action in Henry's will, for he had ordained that if either sister married against the advice of her Council, or *changed the established religion*, she should forfeit her crown.

In spite of the self-sacrificing liberality of

many of the conspirators, it was evident that, to do anything great, a great sum would be required. This was not to be secured by ordinary methods. But in the Exchequer at Westminster there was lying a sum of £50,000, wrung from the people in order to be sent abroad to Philip for his private wars, in express defiance of the marriage articles. They resolved to take possession of this, and employ it for the good of the country that it belonged to.

In order to escape detection and destruction at the outset, they required a base of operations outside the kingdom. They found one in France. That country was an ancient enemy of England, it is true, but a France across the sea was not so exasperating as a Spain upon the throne. An important branch of the scheme was the banding together of the fugitive Englishmen abroad, so that they could be brought over in due time to make an invasion of England by the English. Several conspirators had gone over to France for this purpose. It was a difficult thing to do, for it was illegal to leave the country without permission, and the ports were carefully watched for refugees. But opportunity had been found for many, chief of whom were Sir Henry Dudley, his father-in-law Sir Christopher Ashton, and his son Christopher Ashton the younger, and the two Horseys. This Dudley was not the son or nephew of the Duke of Northumberland, as many say, but the son of Lord Quondam, of the lavish improvident Dudleys of the old stock, whom Northumberland had displaced, and brother of Edward Sutton, Lord Dudley, who had married Katherine Bridges, the daughter of Lord Chandos and the Queen's Lady-in-Waiting. Dudley had managed to escape by the help, or, at least, the connivance of Richard Uvedale, of Chilling, in the county of Southampton. Though he had an annuity of £80 granted him for services done at Framlingham under the Queen's standard, it was not difficult for an improvident man like him to give colour to his escape by stating that he had been outlawed for debt, as his sister-in-law told the Queen, when she closely questioned her concerning Dudley's intentions. Dudley had gone direct to the French Court, had been received with signal honour by the French king, allowed a private

audience, granted a pension for himself, and others for some of his supporters. The wily King kept her own subjects as pawns to play against the Queen of England, while the fortunes of the League yet hung in the balance. They were allowed to form a troop of Englishmen; the French King was to give them horses and ammunition, and to lend them ships. He also gave them vague promises of liberal money help, which to the minds of the eager conspirators became construed into £100,000. The French Ambassador, who had been resident in England during the last reign, rendered them many friendly offices, chief of which was the securing them the privilege of using a mint in Dieppe to coin money, so that it was not French money. Richard Uvedale* of Chilling, Captain of the Castle of Yarmouth in the Isle of Wight, was to give them information which would insure them a safe landing, to spike the fort guns if necessary, and to help them when they had landed.

With these refugees were acting in concert many gentlemen of the West Country. The Carews were to keep the sea, so that no Spaniard could land, in which duty they were aided on the one hand, and hindered on the other, by the privateering exploits of the Killigrews, the Tremaynes, and others, who had taken a fort in Scilly, and there lay in wait, pirate-wise, for Spanish merchantmen. John Throgmorton was the moving spirit of the Metropolitan branch, and planned the removal of the treasure by the aid of Rosey, Keeper of the Star Chamber, and Thomas White, a messenger of the Exchequer. John Throgmorton had rallied many men to the Royal Standard at Framlingham, when English Harry's daughter became the Queen of Englishmen. His heart was still moved by the same patriotic desires. It was the Queen who had changed, not he.

My special interest in the plot arose from my discovery of the curious connection that a literary man bore to its various branches. William Hunnis, who had been "servant to Sir William Herbert" before he became the Earl of Pembroke, was one of the earliest

metrical Psalm-writers; Gentleman of the Chapel under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth; Master of the Children during the latter reign; chief contributor to the *Paradisé of Dainty Devices*; writer of many sacred verses; playwright and play-writer to the Court; and the conceiver of the main device at Kenilworth when Elizabeth was welcomed there by her prime subject in 1575, a spectacle which is reasonably supposed to have kindled the imagination of young Shakespeare.

From the confessions connected with this plot can be gleaned much information concerning his experiences during the reign of Mary. We know that he must have been musical, and that he must have taken the oath of allegiance, in common with the others, to the new Sovereign, and have remained in office in the Chapel when the religion was changed. Outside the Chapel he probably followed his literary pursuits, and wrote some of the poems he published later, possibly some of his interludes and plays even, for Mary spent much more upon plays and devices than is commonly believed. We are told that he was handsome and talented, and that he was friendly with Nicholas Brigham, one of the four Keepers of the Exchequer, a literary man, whose works are largely quoted by Bale. Nothing that Brigham has written has otherwise come down to us, except the epitaph he composed for the marble tomb which he built for his beloved Master Chaucer in Westminster Abbey. Another friend of Hunnis was the Rev. John Rogers, who was martyred on February 4, 1554-55. These names must not be forgotten in connection with his history. In the short space available here one cannot attempt to give the whole details of the intricate examinations. The order of the depositions is not the order of history. In the autumn of 1555 the people had shown their restiveness by stoning the warders and brothers of the convent at Greenwich, and by sending up urgent appeals to the Queen to remedy grievances.

A petition had been sent up to the Privy Council which does not seem to have much to do with the subject in hand at first sight, but it must be borne in mind for the under-

* Machyn, and others who depend on him, call Uvedale Captain of the Isle of Wight, but the Privy Council records show that Girling held that office at that time.

standing of one adventure. Sir Ed. Rouse, late Vice-Treasurer of Ireland; John Parker, Esq., Master of the Rolls; Richard Bethell, Thomas Kent, William Pyers, and others, petitioned for license to fish in the river Ban in Ireland, and in the sea adjoining, and to pass over with ship's tackle and provision, and armour to defend themselves if attacked. This apparently innocent petition was granted, and a reward offered if they apprehended Cole, a notorious Irish pirate (Harl. MS. 643). This must be remembered, as later we find John Bethell acting as captain and manager of this concern.

On December 10 Sir Anthony Kingston took the keys of the House of Commons from the Warden, locked the door, held down the Speaker in the chair, while a vote was passed by acclamation against the proposal to confiscate the goods of those who had gone abroad without leave. For this disorder he was committed to the Tower, but was discharged on the 24th after a humble submission. But the incident rankled in his mind. He and others set about forthwith to work out definite plans of release from a government that they detested. It may be remembered that on January 16, 1555-56, the Emperor resigned most of his dominions, but not his Empire, to his son Philip. On February 3 the five years' truce with France was drawn up, but not signed.

The manner of introduction of William Hunnis to the conspirators is explained in the State Papers. Three weeks after Christmas John Dethick of Westminster at a secret meeting proposed to "make privy to their enterprise one Hunnys, a very handsome man." Thomas White (he who afterwards betrayed them) "doubted the wisdom of letting another intermeddle for fear of disclosures." But Dethick rejoined that there was "no need to doubt this man, for *before*, at the Juego de Cañas or Barrières, he had been appointed with Allday, Cornwall, and others, to the number of twelve, to *kill the King and after him the Queen*." And being asked how this had not gone forward, he said that a cautious consideration of the consequences "had put them out of stomach for the enterprise," because they had reasoned that whoever should come after should be bound to punish them for an example.

This crude and subordinate plot, which seems entirely to have escaped the suspicion of the Privy Council, or of any modern writer, was probably the result of enthusiastic indignation on the martyrdom of John Rogers, February 4, 1554-55. For the Juego de Cañas alluded to were the games performed by Spanish nobles and gentlemen three days afterwards, at the marriage of Lord Strange, son of the Earl of Derby, to Margaret, the only daughter of the Earl of Cumberland and his wife Eleanor, the second daughter of the Duke of Suffolk and Mary, sister of Henry VIII. The Countess of Cumberland was therefore sister of Frances, Duchess of Suffolk, the mother of Lady Jane Grey. Stow and Machyn describe the goodly pastime by cresset light, but know nothing of the *appointed twelve*. The conspirators, who had now modified their plot so as to avoid regicide, were willing to receive Hunnis on this recommendation. Early in February Hunnis was persuaded by Dethick to "use his skill in alchemy" by going over to Dieppe to help them in coining. He asked a day or two to consider; he knew that going abroad without a license was reckoned treason, he knew that coining by a subject was treason (except when done by his late master, the Earl of Pembroke); he distrusted the French promises, he feared the possible consequences. Yet in the end he determined "to leave his living, his friends, and his country," and to cast in his lot with the conspirators. Dethick told him there were thirty knights and many noblemen who could fight well who were in the plot, among others Sir Peter Carew and Sir James Crofts, who was now with the King. Many who were now in attendance on the Queen were in the secret, and would side with the conspirators when they were ready for action.

Dethick again entreated him to use his art in metals, and the opportunity of his friendship with Nicholas Brigham, to forge a key to open the Exchequer chest, and to join in the active and arduous labour of transporting the treasure. From all this it may be gathered that in his former master's service he had learned the art of metal work, to rivet his Lord's armour as page or squire, and that he may have learned the art of

coining when his master's silver was sent to the mint to be coined in Edward's time.

A great blazing comet began to appear in the sky on March 7, supposed to portend the fall of Princes. Men gazed and trembled as it rose, night after night, all but the conspirators, who took it as a good omen.

On March 12 Dethick* further told Hunnis that Lord Courtenay had petitioned to be allowed to sell land to the amount of £200 by the year, but had only been allowed to part with half. The sum realized was to be given to the conspirators. In February Bethell had also asked Hunnis "to go with him a-fishing" in Irish waters. He agreed to go, but said he could not be ready until mid-April, when Bethell agreed to call for him at Beaumaris. In the beginning of March Hunnis had accidentally met Bethell at Fleet Bridge, and the latter said he was ready to start from St. Katharine's Wharf. Hunnis asked him if he had heard that strangers were about to land, and Bethell said: "I care not what I hear, but I will be sure to serve my country." When Hunnis asked him how, he replied "to keep that no strangers shall land!" to which Hunnis agreed, "Captain, that is well said." John Bendebow of the Chapel had also been getting shovels and spades and poles for Bethell's ship, which Hunnis had thought strange tackle to catch fish withal, and Bowes had been talking to him about the conspiracy.

Sir Anthony Kingston's chief interest lay in the western plot to "send the Queen's Highness over to the King." He said that "the laws of the Realm would hear it. Look to King Henry's will!" This will was kept in the charge of Sir Edmund Peckham, and it seems to have been Kingston who suggested that Harry Peckham should make a copy of that will for their use. Peckham hesitated a little at first about the possible loss of his estate, but Kingston said it would all be made up to him, "For the Lady Elizabeth is a goodly liberal dame, and nothing so unthankful as her sister is. She taketh this liberality of her mother, who was one of the bountifullest of women. For thou hast served the unthankfullest mistress

* This Dethick was a University man, who had learned logic and philosophy at Balliol College. He had been steward for some time to Lord Grey.

upon the earth, and all she has done has been against her father and her brother, and our sweet Lady Elizabeth!"

Harry Peckham not only made that copy, but signed it, which told hardly against him later. It was left in the charge of his servants, as may be seen by the deposition of Wheyton, which has not been noticed in the annals of this plot because it has been through some misunderstanding entered in the Calendar of State Papers as belonging to the first year of Mary, instead of her third. Harry Peckham had secured the co-operation of the young Verneys, and through them of Lord Bray. They were all related to each other. Much hope was felt by the conspirators in Peckham's influence among men at Court when the time to act should arrive.

(To be concluded.)



Ramblings of an Antiquary.

BY GEORGE BAILEY.

III.—SWARKESTON MANOR HOUSE, DERBYSHIRE.

THE imposing gate-posts at Swarkeston are still *in situ*. They stand at the entrance of what used to be the drive to the old mansion of the Harpurs. The drive no longer exists, since the house is now a picturesque and ivy-clothed ruin. When we were there in the autumn of 1901 this splendid mantle was profusely in flower, and promised soon to be decked with clusters of the beautiful dark green berries so characteristic of and peculiar to the plant.

In 1357 it was the residence of Thomas de *Swerkston*, and he was probably the builder of some of it, if not all, and it may have been altered or added to by the Rollestones, who next possessed it. There is, in the church near by, a large monument in memory of John Rolleston and his wife, the date being 1482. The alabaster top bears incised drawings of them. The stone is broken and needs repairing, otherwise it is a good example of incised work, in fair condition.

In the sixteenth century the estate was in

the holding of George Findern, of Findern; he had a son, Thomas, who died in 1558, and a daughter, Jane, who became the wife of Sir Richard Harpur, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, so bringing him the large estates of her family. There are no remains of the manor-house of the Finderns; only a few garden flowers that bloom annually, and are known as Findern's flowers in the locality, keep up its memory.

bridge at Burton, and defended it against the Parliamentary forces, but was defeated on January 6 of that year. The Judge's eldest son, Sir John, lived and died at Swarkeston.

The Harpurs came originally from Chesterton, co. Warwick, where Hugh, son of Sir Richard le Harpur, resided in the reign of Henry I.* They continued to reside there until John le Harpur, whose grand-



FIG. 1.

Per bend sinister, ar. and sa., a lion rampant, counterchanged, within a bordure gobonated, or and gu.

The three shields placed here are Harpur of Swarkeston (Figs. 1 and 2), and Findern (Fig. 3), taken from the tomb in Swarkeston Church. Sir Richard had built a house at Littleover, but removed to Swarkeston, and his son, Sir Richard, continued to reside at Littleover until his death in 1635, and a large monument in the old church there records that event. Colonel Harpur of Littleover in 1648 fortified the

father was living in the sixth year of Edward II., married Isabel, daughter of Sir Robert Appleby, of Rushall, co. Stafford, from whom the Harpurs of Rushall descended.† The first who settled there was Sir John, who married Elianor, daughter of William Grobore; by her he had three sons, William, Richard, and Henry, and from them are

* Brayley and Britton, p. 396.

† Pilkington, vol. ii., p. 78.

descended the Harpurs of Littleover, Breadsall, Swarkeston, Twyford, and Calke Abbey. Judge Harpur, of Littleover, was the son of Henry, third son of Sir John, of Rushall, his mother being the above Elianor Grobere. The church at Rushall appears to have benefited greatly by the liberality of John Harpur, Esq. In 1248 the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry ordained the first vicar, for up to that time it had been a chapel of Walsall. The above John, about the year 1444 (22 Henry VI.), endowed the vicarage,



FIG. 2.

Arms of Sir John Harpur—arg., a lion rampant, sa., within a bordure engrailed of the second. Sir John of Calke married Catharine, youngest daughter of Lord Crewe of Steine, Northants, and took the arms of Crewe—azure, a lion rampant arg.

and seems also to have done much towards refurnishing and rebuilding it. He died in 1464, and was interred in the Grey Friars, Lichfield.* There was an old church book at Rushall given by him, in which the following lines were written. They are very quaint, and we have thought it well to copy them exactly without altering the spelling. It is the more interesting because the book was fastened by a chain; and in the church of Breadsall there are also a number of ancient books in a curious reading-desk which are also attached by chains.

* *Topographer*, vol. ii., pp. 202, 203.

This present book, legibile in scripture,
Herein this place thus tatched to a cheyn
Purposed of entent for to endure,
And here perpetuelli style to remayne;
Fro eyre to eyre, wherefore uppone peyn
Of Cryst is curs of Faders and Moderes
Non of hem heus attempt it to dereyne
While ani leef goodeli hange with oder;
But for as moche that noo thyng may endure
That urtherly ys alwey trowe certeyn
Whensoever thys book hereafter in Scripture
Eyder in kovering begynneth cause ayeyn
All tho therto that diligence doth or peyn
Hit to reform be they on or other
Have they the pardon that Criste gave Magdaleyn
With daili blessing of fader and of moder
Gret reason wolde that ev'y creature
Meved of corage on hit to rede or seyn
Should hym remembre in prayer that so sure
Both *priest* and *place* and *Bokes* just ordeyn.
At his gret cost John Harpur noight to byn;
Wherfor his eires with all oder
As hyly bondon to pray the sovereyn
Lord of all Lordes present hym to his moder.

The number of "John Harpurs" renders it difficult to distinguish one from another, but it will have been noticed that the author of the above was an ancestor of Sir John, who was father of Sir Richard, the judge who lived and died in the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1573), to whose family we have principally to refer in what is to follow. His eldest son, Sir John of Swarkeston, died in 1622, leaving three sons: Sir Richard of Swarkeston, who died in London in 1627 without surviving issue; John of Breadsall, Esq., who married the heiress of Dethick of that place; and Sir Henry of Calke, who was created a baronet in 1626, and died in 1649. Consequently the estates then passed to the only son of John Harpur, Esq., of Breadsall, Sir John Harpur, of Swarkeston and Breadsall, which Sir John having only one son, Henry, who died before him, leaving no issue, the whole of the large estates on the decease of Sir John, the last of the Swarkeston and Breadsall branch, became the property of the third baronet, Sir John Harpur of Calke; in that branch they still remain. We have scanned this genealogy thus far because Glover's* history states that it was Sir Henry, the first baronet, who fortified his house at Swarkeston, which the Parliamentary army destroyed. Sir Henry died thirty-nine years before that event took place, and it was Sir Henry's grandson, as above stated, who eventually succeeded to the estates.

* Glover, vol. ii., p. 187.

There are considerable ruins of Swarkeston Hall still remaining, and we intended to place here a view of part of the old walls, but unfortunately the exigencies of space have rendered it necessary to omit the sketch we had made. The mansion was large, but was so effectually battered by Sir John Gell's troops, that only a series of woe-begone walls remain, together with some extensive out-

arches are those of Sir John and his first wife, Catharine Howard—gules, a bend, between six cross-crosslets fitchée argent, on the upper end of the bend a mullet sa. for difference. The Howards, after the battle of Flodden, 1513, had for augmentation the royal shield of Scotland in place of the mullet. The arms of Sir John have been given (Fig. 2). It was evidently a place from which ladies



FIG. 3.

Arg., a chevron ingrailed sa., between three crosses formée fitchée, sa.

buildings. What was once the interior of the house is now a flourishing orchard.

There is a very pretty building (Fig. 4) with towers and cupolas still standing near by in very good preservation, and the view placed here will convey a better idea of it than any description. It stands in the corner of a large green, surrounded by walls of the same date as the building, and in which a rather nice entrance still remains in the front wall, not seen in the view. The arms on the shields in the spandrels of the

might watch the various games that went on below, such as bear- and bull-baiting. Not so far distant was Berewardcote, a sufficiently suggestive name. Most likely later in its history less brutal games would be played there, such as bowls and pall-mall, and finally the meets for hounds would assemble there.

It is uncertain whether Charles I. was ever at Swarkeston, but he was, it is said,* at Tutbury for two weeks in 1634, and from

* Sir O. Moseley, *Tutbury Castle*, pp. 88, 219.

August 15 to August 23, 1636. He was also in Derby early in the same month of 1635 as he returned from Ripon, together with his nephew, Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, and the Earl of Newcastle. The Corporation presented them with a fat ox, a calf, six fat sheep, and a purse of money. They presented the Elector with twenty broad pieces. This was the year in which Charles had sent his writ for raising ship-money throughout the kingdom. The county was to furnish one ship of 350 tons, 140 men, and charges £3,500. The town was to provide £175, and Chesterfield £50.

September 13 he went through the town again on his way to Shrewsbury. He borrowed £300 of the Corporation, and all the small arms they would furnish, promising to make all good at the end of the war, but he never fulfilled it for reasons which are obvious.

Shortly after this visit of the King the Earl of Essex, Commander of the Parliamentary forces, commissioned Sir John Gell to raise a regiment of which he was to be Colonel and his brother Thomas Lieutenant-Colonel. In October, 1642, he went to Hull, where he obtained a regiment of



FIG. 4.

In August, 1641, the King passed through Derby again. This would be on his way into Scotland about August 12, when he took with him the Crown jewels. There appears to have been some mysterious plotting going on, but nothing satisfactory is known about it. The King was in Scotland until September, and in August 22 of the following year he again passed through Derby on his way to Nottingham Castle, and set up the Royal Standard there, but there was a high wind, and in that exposed situation it was soon blown down, and it was three days before it could be re-erected. This was considered by Charles to be a bad omen, and so it proved to be. On

foot—450 men—with which he marched into Derbyshire; but stopping on their way at Sheffield to quell a mutiny, and this being specially settled, that town lent them "ould calivers with rotten stocks and rusty barrells,"* for which they seized of ours sixty good muskets.

During the time that Sir John Gell was away, Sir Francis Wortley had at Wirksworth raised "a company of fellows fyt for such a leader with horse and armes stohn from honest men, where they disposed of other men's houses and estates for their wynter quarters," but their comfortable arrangements were upset by the appearance of Sir John at

* Glover, vol. i., Appendix, p. 14.

Chesterfield, where he remained eight or nine days, and "raysed" 200 men, "some with armes and some without,"* and on October 26 he marched to Wirksworth, and speedily put Sir Francis "and his rebel rout to flight." At Wirksworth he remained four days, increasing his forces to above 300, and on October 31, 1642, they marched to Derby, and there "hee began to give out comyshons" for his officers, and while there Captain White came from Nottingham with a company of twenty-seven dragoons well armed. These were soon increased to 140. Sir Francis Wortley again put in an appearance at Dale in November, and Sir John and his musketeers had to go and drive him away, the intention of the Royalists being to take Derby if they could, and thus they knew Nottingham would soon be taken, and so all north of the Trent would be theirs. The activity of Sir John Gell and his companions did much to prevent this. The activity of Colonel Gell, however, did not quite please other gentlemen of the county, for the Earls of Devonshire and Chesterfield, together with "the Hygh Sheriffe," Sir John Fitzherbert of Norbury, Sir Edward Vernon, Sir Simon Every, and others, having met together at Tutbury, had sent him a threatening letter, to which he, replied "that it seemed strange they should growe so quickly jealous of hym, theyre owne countrieman wel known to them, and that had no other end than the clearing of his county from thieves and robbers, to mayntaine the lawes of the land and liberties of the subjects, according to the ordynance of Parliament," etc. This was written previously to leaving Chesterfield.

After the exploit at Dale, hearing that the Earl of Chesterfield had fortified his house at Bretby "with 40 musquitiars, horse and seven drakes† (Fig. 5), whereupon hee commanded forth of Derby four hundred foott," and Captain White's dragoons and two sakers to the said Earl's house, Major Mollanus being "commander-in-chiefe." "Uppon the appearance of our men, the enemy shott their drakes and musketts at them; but after

halfe a dozen shottes of our saccers and musquitiars, and our men beginning to fall upon their workes, the said Earle with all his sforces fled away through his parke and so to Litchfield." They then took possession of the house with all the arms and ammunition. They then tried to make a bargain with the Countess, saying that the contents of Bretby would be spared if "shee would give every souldyer halfe a crowne, for to have her house saved from plundering because it was free boottey." This she did not agree to. "Shee had not so much moneyes." Then they would do it for forty marks; but no, she had not the money. They then said they would advance the



FIG. 5.

money if she would repay them, to which her reply was "that shee would not give them one penny;" and then "indeed the souldyers plundered the house. But the officers saved her owne chamber."

After this skirmish at Bretby, Captain White and his men went to Nottingham Castle, together with Major Mollanus and his 300 "foott," and were engaged in fortifying the place. They were there nine or ten days when news was brought to Colonel Gell that Colonel Hastings was at Ashby-de-la-Zouch with 300 horse and 400 "foott," and still "raysing as many as he could." Captain White and his company were recalled to Derby, during which time Colonel Hastings had arrived from Ashby, and was fortifying Sir John Harpur's house at Swarkeston in 1642, and strongly fortified the bridge with great earthworks. Accordingly Sir John Gell prepared his whole regiment, and, together with Sir George Gresley's troop of horse, hastened thither and at once attacked them, and "they quitt the house at our fyrst coming, but kept the bridge for a tyme; what in regard of the river Trent which runnes under it, and we could approche it but one way, where they had made a strange bulwarke, the attempt was difficult, yet the valour of our men overcame it, and drove

* Glover, Gell, M. 9.

† Drakes were small cannon, like that represented, which was sketched from one used by the army of Sir John Gell. They were $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 8-pounders.

both the commanders and souldiers out of the country." They returned to Ashby, and afterwards the Queen went there.

(To be continued.)



The Limes Britannicus.

BY THE REV. THOMAS BARNES, M.A.

THE THIRTEEN STATIONS OF THE NOTITIA.

SUB DISPOSITIONE VIRI SPECTABILIS DUCIS BRITANNIARUM.

Præfectus Legionis Sextæ.

- Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum, Præsidio. —Austerfield.
- Præfectus equitum Crispianorum, Dano. —Doncaster, 9 miles.
- Præfectus equitum Catafractariorum, Morbio. —Templeborough, 12 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Barcariorum Tigrisiensium, Arbeja. —Brough, 16 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium, Dicti. —Buxton, 10 miles.
- Præfectus numeri vigilum, Concangios. —Leek, 12 miles.
- Præfectus numeri exploratorum, Lavatres. —Stone, 15 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Directorum, Veterum, alias Veneris. —Gnosall, 10 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Defensorum, Braboniac. —Shifnal, 9 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Solensium, Maglovæ. —Quatford, 11 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Pacensium, Magis. —Warshall, 9 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum, Longovicum. —Worcester, 13 miles.
- Præfectus numeri Derventionensis, Derventione. —Tewkesbury, 14 miles.

The thirteen stations of the Limes Britannicus cover a distance of 140 miles.

B RITAIN in the early part of the fifth century was ruled by a vicarius under the authority of the Proconsul of Africa.* It was divided into five provinces, two of which, Maxima Cæsariensis and Valentia, were ad-

* Notitia Utriusque Imperii, cp. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. xxiii.

ministered by consulares; three—Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, and Flavia Cæsariensis—by præsides. The military authority was vested in three high officials—the Comes Britanniarum, the Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britannias, and the Dux Britanniarum. The position of the Comes Britanniarum is doubtful. He had, like the others, a large staff, and was supported by six bodies of Equites. His sphere of influence is called Provincia Britannia, perhaps in this place equivalent to the whole diocese. It is probable that his military authority extended to all stations which were not under the special organization of the great Border Generals. The position of these Border officials is very clearly stated in the *Notitia*. The Comes Littoris Saxonici had under his disposition—"sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitum Limitis Saxonici per Britanniam"—the præpositi and tribuni at the several stations, nine in all, on the southern and eastern coast-line, the Limes Saxonicus, which was most exposed to the ravages of the Saxon pirates. The Dux Britanniarum had also a very well-defined sphere of authority, the Limes Britannicus and the Limes per lineam valli. It is important to note the difference in the *Notitia* between the "Duces duodecim," one of which is the Dux Britannia, and the "Duces Limitum infrascriptorum decem," of which the Dux Britanniarum is one. Whoever the Dux Britannia was, the Dux Britanniarum was a Dux limitis.

In a later chapter, "sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum" is the Præfectus Legionis Sextæ. There follows a list of thirteen stations, each one ruled by a Præfectus. The first three of these stations are Præsidium, Danum, Morbium; the last three are Magæ, Longovicum, Derventio. After the mention of the last station we read: "Item per lineam valli," followed by a list of twenty-three stations, from Segedunum to Virosidum. The Dux Britanniarum was the Dux limitis, and it seems clear from the *Notitia* that there was, in addition to the Limes Saxonicus and the Limes "per lineam valli," with its twenty-three stations, a Limes of thirteen stations, which for want of a definite name may be called the Limes Britannicus.

What was this Limes Britannicus? Is there any clue to its course? The second station, Danum, is certainly Doncaster, which in the earlier days of the Roman conquest was a frontier stronghold on the Don against the powerful tribes of the Brigantes. The eleventh and twelfth stations are Magæ and Longovicum, or, as they are inscribed in the Notitia:

Præfectus numeri Pacensium, Magis.
Præfectus numeri Longovicariorum, Longovico.

The identification of these two stations is suggested by a passage in the appendix to the Chronicon of Florence of Worcester.* In the brief account of the foundation of the See of Worcester which he prefixes to the list of the Bishops, occurs the following: "Et quia civitas Wigornia tempore quo regnabant Britones vel Romani in Britannia, et tunc et nunc totius Hwicciæ vel Magesitanie metropolis extitit famosa, cathedram erexit pontificalem digniter in ea." Hwiccia took its name from the number of *vici* or country-seats which the rich provincials of Corinium and Glevum had built in the Severn Valley. They have left traces in the near neighbourhood of Worcester in the place-names Knightwick and Powick; and further south in the direction of Tewkesbury and Gloucester are Wick, near Pershore, Hardwick, and Painswick.† It is not unreasonable, therefore, to identify the Longovicum of the Notitia with Worcester, the metropolis of Hwiccia. The station of Magæ in so close proximity to Longovicum in the Notitia can scarcely be other than the place—wherever it be—which in this district gave to Florence the name Magesitania.

There is therefore good reason to think that the course of the thirteen stations in the Limes Britannicus lay between the Don and the Severn. These two rivers in the earlier days were the natural frontiers against the Brigantes and the Silures, and the Limes in its origin was probably a means of strengthening this natural frontier, and

guarding the integrity of the province. It is important to note the period at which the Roman province was confined to these restricted limits. The tribes beyond these rivers were still the chief enemies of the Romans at the coming of Sextus Julius Frontinus in 75 A.D. It was not till the appointment of Agricola in 77 A.D. that the Romans made any permanent stand to the north; both Eboracum and the northern Limes owe their beginning to him.*

The early history of the Roman conquests in Britain is the key to the origin of the Limes Britannicus. The conquest of Britain was due to the enterprise of Claudius in 43 A.D.,† and was finally decided upon in response to the appeal of Bericus, a prince of the Atrebatæ, whose land lay on the upper course of the Thames.‡ The conquest was entrusted to Aulus Plautius. Claudius was himself present at the taking of Camulodunum (Colchester). This city became a colony and the centre of Roman administration,§ and the little evidence there is respecting the rule of Aulus from 43 A.D. to his recall in 47 A.D. points to the south and the west as the chief sphere of his conquest. He would be drawn to the headwaters of the Thames not only by the appeal of Bericus, but by the mineral wealth which existed in the hill country beyond. Two pigs of lead on the Mendips, dated 49 A.D., show the extension of the Roman conquest, and the foundation of Corinium (Cirencester) may be ascribed to this period. The Iceni, whose territory extended from Essex to the borders of Lincoln, also gave in their allegiance,|| and it is probable that the Coritani of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire followed their example.¶ It is uncertain whether the station at Lindum (Lincoln) was founded by Aulus Plautius or Ostorius Scapula, but it may have been the station

* Tacitus, *Agricola*; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 87, 88.

† Sueton, *Claud. Cæs.*, c. 17.

‡ *Dion. Cass.*, lx. 19-23.

§ Tacitus, *Ann.*, xiv. 29-39.

|| Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii. 31-40, cp. *M. H. B.*: "Quod primi Iceni abnuere, valide gens nec proliis contusi quia societatem nostram volentes accesserant."

¶ Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii. 31-40, cp. *M. H. B.*: "Hisque auctoribus, circumjectæ nationes locum pugne delegere."

* *Monumenta*, p. 622.

† The salt-towns of Worcester and Cheshire have the termination "wick" not "wick," such as Northwich, Nantwich, Droitwich. Mr. Duignan, in his notes on *Staffordshire Place-Names*, p. 172, makes the Hwiccas the salt-people, but the above interpretation is better.

held by Cerealis and the Ninth Legion when they were called upon to march to the suppression of the outbreak of 61 A.D.* Its importance as a military centre on the Ermine Street made its occupation certain as soon as the Roman arms met the Brigantes—that is, during the campaign of Ostorius Scapula in A.D. 50.

It is in relation to the policy of Scapula that the first record of a Limes occurs. He had to contend not only with the Iceni in the provinces, but with the Brigantes beyond the Don, the Cangi, or Decangi, of the moorlands, and the Silures beyond the Severn. He secured the peace of the province by drawing a line of forts along its frontier. The passage in Tacitus is corrupt: "Detrahare arma suspectis, cunctosque castris, Antonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat."† Lipsius, in the edition of 1607, makes one or two suggestions, but adds, "We are playing at dice in a place which is, perhaps, not complete." There is some force, however, in one of his emendations: "Antona et Sabrina fluvii." Mr. Henry Bradley‡ in an emendation which has provoked criticism for the use of the word "cis" a form uncommon in Tacitus, reads—"cunctosque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat." He identifies the Trisantonam with the Trent, a suggestion which is supported by the old form of Trentham, Tricingeham, of Florence of Worcester, and by the fact that the name occurs among the rivers of Britain in Ptolemy. Haverfield avoids the "cis," and emends it, "castris ad Trisantonam," but agrees with Mommsen in identifying "castris" with Uriconium, and the Trisantonam with the Tern.§ Skene identifies the Antona with the Don.|| The policy of Ostorius Scapula seems to make the formation of a line of forts the more probable explanation of this obscure passage. Bury,¶ in his text, carries the line

from Glevum (Gloucester) to Camulodunum; in his note he says it is possible that the line was further north, corresponding to the line of the Severn, Avon, and Trent. This line was the first idea of the Limes Britannicus.

Ostorius Scapula established his base on the Fosse Way with Lindum (Lincoln) on the north, and Corinium (Cirencester) on the south. He first made a frontal attack on the Cangi or Decangi along the line of the Watling Street.* It is probable that they occupied the position of the later Cornavii, and that they held the old strongholds of the Staffordshire hills, their name being, perhaps, preserved in Cank Thorn, on Cannock Chase. Their land was laid waste: "vastiti agri, praeda passim acta," and they themselves were driven to take refuge in the Wirrall, or on the great promontory of Carnarvon, whichever he identified with the *καγκανίων ἄκρον*, the headland of the Cancani of Ptolemy—more probably the former. He secured his conquest, and formed a new base by establishing a camp on the Watling Street at the point where it touches the Severn at Uriconium (Wroxeter). It was when he had reached the outlying parts of Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire—"jam ventum haud procul mari, quod Hiberniam insulam aspectat"—that he felt able to continue his conquests. The station at Lindum, at the northern extremity of the Fosse Way, was the military base for all expeditions against the Brigantes. It is probable that the approach was made, not by the direct northern road across the Humber at Winteringham, but along Till Bridge Lane to the crossing of the Trent at Segelocum (Littleborough), and the passage of the Idle at Bawtry. This latter passage would be secured by the Castrum at Austerfield, which is given in the map of the Monumenta. The Don was approached across the lift of land called, in later days, Heathfield, and at Doncaster the Roman

* Bury, *Student's Roman Britain*, p. 268: "Some think Lindum, but this is doubtful"; p. 271: "This seems quite possible."

† Tacitus, *Ann.*, xii. 31-40, cp. *M. H. B.*

‡ *Academy*, April 28, 1883, cp. Duignan's *Staffordshire Place-Names*, p. 155. So also Heraeus; cp. Bury, *S. R. E.*, p. 272.

§ Cp. Bury, p. 272.

|| Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i., p. 35.

¶ Bury, p. 264.

* The Medicean MS. reads: "'Ductus inde Cangos'; Pichena, 'inde in Cangos'; Tacitus, Orelli, 'in Decangos'; Lipsias, 1607, p. 196, 'Ductus in Cangos.'" So also the *M. H. B.* Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 288, compares Concangion, Gangani, Decangi, and the inscr. De Ceangi on Pigs of Lead from Cheshire and Staffordshire, p. 233. He regards the names as non-Celtic.

station would be of the first importance on the frontier river of the Brigantes. The Brigantes were brought into subjection, and it is to this period that the foundation of the stations, not only of Austerfield and Doncaster, but also of Templeborough, may be assigned. Danum is, without doubt, Doncaster; Templeborough, in the map of the Monumenta, has been identified with Morbium, the third station of the Notitia. Presidium was in all probability the camp at Austerfield.

Ostorius Scapula then entered upon his struggle with the Silures under Caractacus. The southern end of the Fosse Way would serve as his base against them, as the northern end at Lindum against the Brigantes. From Corinium he pushed forward to Glevum, and established himself on the Severn. It is not necessary to follow the details of the campaign. Caractacus, in consequence of the pressure from the south-east along the line of the Severn, went north into the country of the Ordovices, north of the Teme, and transferred the struggle to the upper reaches of the Severn about Shrewsbury, the Powys district of a later date. Ostorius Scapula followed him along the Severn side, and, on reaching Uriconium, probably advanced against Caractacus from the north into the heart of the Church Stretton Hills. Caractacus then pressed on northwards, outflanking the Romans, and succeeded in passing on across the Mersey into the country of the Brigantes. It was, perhaps, in connection with this retreat of Caractacus that Ostorius made use of the northern branch of Watling Street, from Wroxeter up the Tern to Rutunium (? Shawbury on the Roden) and Mediolanum (Chesterton).

This campaign of A.D. 50 proved to Ostorius Scapula the value of the Don and the Severn as the natural frontier against the two chief enemies of the Roman provinces. It is not unreasonable to suppose that he would not only protect them, but join them by a line of forts, which, later, may have been here and there strengthened by some kind of continuous vallum. The misfortunes of the Romans during the next twenty-five years, especially the great rebellion of Boadicea in 61 A.D., had led to the line of the Don and Severn and the con-

necting centre being regarded as the limit of the Province of Britain, the Limes Britannicus. The work of consolidation carried out by the appointment as Proprætor of Sextus Julius Frontinus in 75 A.D. gave further importance to this Limes. The Silures and Ordovices were still unconquered; the Brigantes, though broken by Petilius Cærialis, were probably still a danger.* He was an expert in military matters, and his name is connected with the Limes Germanicus on the Rhine.† The great extension of the Roman Province to the north was still in the future. The present needs called for special measures. It is, therefore, to Frontinus that the project of converting the frontier forts of Scapula into a continuous Limes may be ascribed. There is not much evidence of the work being carried forward with any great rapidity, or to any large extent. The most important evidence of it is the Grey Ditch at Bradwell in Derbyshire, and there are some considerable traces of a similar vallum on Gun above Leek, and of a vallum or raised road in the neighbourhood of Ranton Abbey. But to a lesser degree, if the evidence of place-names is of any value, there may have been some line of demarcation across the whole of the moorland and midland district. The remains are very scant, but it must be remembered that Frontinus was withdrawn in 77 A.D., and the interests of Agricola and all subsequent governors of Britain lay further north. The more important Limes became the Linea Valli, the line of the Roman Wall.

What is the course of the line of forts established by Scapula, the line of the vallum projected by Julius Frontinus? The line of the Don with the Castella of Danum and Morbium (Templeborough) was followed until the river at Sheffield makes its great bend to the north-west. The line then struck across the moors by Ecclesall and the Carlwark to Hathersage and Brough, where there is not only a camp, but a long stretch of vallum known as the Grey Ditch. The line of the Grey Ditch is continued across the moors to Buxton, and then on to Leek, with its interesting camps and lines on Gun. At Leek there begins the interesting series of

* Tacitus, *Agricola*.

† Bury, *S. R. H.*, pp. 403-405.

place-names which stretches across country to the near neighbourhood of Shifnal. In old Leek deeds mention is made of the Manor of the Wall; south of Leek was Wall Grange and Wall Lane, and further south, near the Blythe, are Caverswall, Stansmare Hall, and Fosbrook. On the high ground south of the Blythe, the line crosses Meir Heath, and from Spotacre goes along Summerstreet Lane to Cotwalton. The Waltons then follow one another closely to Shifnal: Walton by Stone, Walton heath, Walton by Chebsey, Waltonhurst, to Brough Hall above Gnosall. South of Gnosall lie Walton Grange and Walton Fields, from which point an almost straight course leads to Shifnal, crossing the Watling Street at Barlaughton. Shifnal is within a short distance of the point where the Severn leaves its northerly course and bends to the westward.

There are, therefore, in support of the course of the Limes Britannicus, the line of Don and Severn to Sheffield and Shifnal respectively, the recognised Roman track to Brough and Buxton, and the place-names across Staffordshire from Leek to Shifnal.

The stations on the Limes Germanicus were at a distance of about ten miles from one another, and it is probable that the castella on the Limes Britannicus would be at about the same distance apart. The Limes of Upper Germany was of earth, and was protected not only by these castella, but by watch-towers. The Limes Rhaeticus, probably of somewhat later date, was of stones, with a stockade on the top and ditch in front. The castella were connected with a military road.* The Limes Saxonius was probably little more than a coast-road between the camps of defence. The Limes Britannicus was a chain of stations with connecting road, and here and there a vallum.

The Limes Britannicus of Ostorius Scapula and Julius Frontinus became of quite secondary importance after the extension of the province to the north under Agricola. It is, however, probable that it formed the line of division when Septimius Severus divided the province in the year 204 A.D.† The new provinces were known as Upper and Lower Britain, and from the disposition of the

legions* it has been inferred that Caerleon on Usk, the headquarters of the Second Legion (Augusta), and Chester, the headquarters of the Twentieth Legion (Victoria Victrix), were in Upper Britain, and that York, the headquarters of the Sixth Legion (Victrix) was in Lower Britain. Dion Cassius is writing, therefore, of his own time, about 230 A.D.; he is of high authority as regards the Limes of the new province. The border of the provinces swept round from Doncaster by way of Castleford (Legiolium), Aldborough (Isarium), Cataractonium (Catterick Bridge), Vinovia (Binchester), to the extremity of the Roman Wall. This would include within Lower Britain the East Riding, most of the North Riding of Yorkshire, and the eastern part of Durham.

This division into Upper and Lower Britain was maintained for two centuries. In the fourth century a further subdivision took place. Sextus Rufus Festus,† writing about 360 A.D., mentions four provinces—Maxima Cæsariensis, Flavia, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda. The subdivision took place probably during the reign of Constantine, and the name of the new provinces was given in his honour. They were based upon his name—Flavius Valerius Constantinus Cæsar. It is, however, difficult to ascertain the principles of the new division. It is stated by Rhys‡ that Upper Britain was divided into Prima and Secunda, Lower Britain into Maxima Cæsariensis and Flavia Cæsariensis. The district between the two walls from Solway to Clyde, from Tyne to Firth, was formed into a fifth province—Valentia—after its recovery in 369. Professor Rhys's division makes the two Britannias correspond with the districts which afterwards remained more thoroughly British, and became known in later history under the names of Cambria and Cumbria. Gale, in his edition of the *Antonine Itinerary*,§ thought that the Limes was an agger from Clausentum (Bittern) to Gabrosentum (on the Wall), but Southampton Water does not appear so natural a starting point for a frontier line as the Severn. He also, in treating

* Dion Cassius, cp. *M. H. B.*, liii.

† *M. H. B.*, lxxi.

‡ *Celtic Britain*, p. 99.

§ *Ant. It.*, T. Gale, 1709.

* Bury, *H. R. E.*

† Herodian, cp. *M. H. B.*, lxiii.

of the provincial arrangement of the fourth century, quotes the passage from Ammianus Marcellinus in which mention is made of these boundaries. Theodosius (father of Theodosius the Great) in 369 "instaurabat urbes, et præsideria, ut diximus, castra limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis."

The withdrawal of the Roman Legions in the early fifteenth century did not at once destroy the military importance of their camps and boundaries. The two chief divisions of Britain were administered by successors of the Comes Limitis Saxonici and the Dux *Britanniarum*, who appear in Welsh literature* under the title of Gwledig, or Prince.

The Gwledig of Lower Britain, the Comes Limitis Saxonici of later British history, Ambrosius Aurelianus, inherited the dignity as well as the purple of office, and for a while successfully resisted the encroachment of the Saxon and Engle invaders. The office of Gwledig of Upper Britain was assumed by the family of Cunedda, and in the struggles of the seventh century for the Crown of Britain between Cadwallon and Eadwine, the old title Dux *Britanniarum* reappears in the title Dux Brittonum which Bede assigns to the British King.†

The old line of the Limes Britannicus was in this last century of contest the disputed boundary between the British and the Engle lands. It became the mark of the Mercians, and to this day, whether it be in Shropshire or in Staffordshire or Derbyshire, there is along this line and to the west of it a stronger Celtic strain than there is further east. The alliance between the Middle Engles and the Britons, of which there are traces in the sixth century, and which became a settled policy in the reign of Penda, drew the Southumbrian Engles through the passes of Charnwood and Arden into the district of the Limes; and it was from their settlements on this mark that they became known as Mercians. The alliance guaranteed to some extent the integrity of the British tribes of this district, and there is evidence in the older sites and in the place-names of some continuity of Celtic tradition. The defeat of Penda and

the thirty Kings of the Brythons—if the Welsh traditions of Nennius be accepted—at Gay Field, followed soon after by the accession of Wulfhere, led to the transfer of the Celtic strongholds from the Britons to the Engles. The old British hill-camp of Bury Bank near Stone, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Limes Britannicus, became Wulfhereceaster and the long series of Engle settlements on the Mark became the Waltons and Ranton of the present day.

Norton in Salop, a village near the Limes, in the stage between Gnosall and Shifnal, is said in the cartulary of St. Peter's, Shrewsbury, to be *juxta nemus quod Lima dicitur*. The Lime woodlands have been thought to be named from the Limes, or border of Cheshire, but it is more probable that they owed their name to the older Limes Britannicus. The forest-land thus named extended throughout the whole of the North Staffordshire and West Derbyshire moorlands. Ashton-under-Lyme, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Madeley-under-Lyme, Whitmore-under-Lyme, Betton-under-Lyme in Salop, Audlem, Burslem, and Norton, *juxta nemus quod Lima dicitur*, owe their name to this old mark. The Middle Engles became thus the Engles of the Mark, the English settlers on the Limes Britannicus, the Mercians of Bede and the English chronicles.

1. THE STATION AT AUSTERFIELD: PRÆSIDIO (?).

The castrum is marked on the Roman map in the *Monumenta*. The village is situated on the north of the river Idle, near Bawtry. The road to Hatfield and the old ford of the Don at Stainforth passes through it. The position is an important one as a second line of defence against the Brigantes. It guarded the passage of the Idle at Bawtry, and secured both the Till Bridge Lane, the Roman road from Lindum (Lincoln), and Segelocum (Littleborough), and the road from Derby and Mansfield, which strikes into Bawtry from Worksop. If it is to be identified with the station Præsidium of the *Notitia*, it was the headquarters of the Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum.

The distance between Austerfield and the station at Doncaster is about nine miles. It skirts the south-west border of the ancient

* Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, p. 104.

† Bede, *H. E.*, iii. 1; Rhys, *C. B.*, p. 137.

Hæthfelth, or Heathfield, of Bede.* This ancient moorland lay in broken stretches of heath and swamp between the Don and the Idle, the Hatfield Moors being now the only portion of it which has not been reclaimed and cultivated. Its importance in early times is illustrated by the campaigns of the seventh century. The Middle Engles, or Southumbrians, conquered the Coritani about 500;† the North Engles, or Northumbrians, had settled in the lands of the Brigantes about the same time. The marsh and swamp at the mouth of the Trent and Idle, the memory of which is still preserved in the "Island" of Axholme, formed a natural frontier between the two Engle settlements, as it had in former times between the Coritani and the Brigantes. In 617, when Rædwald, the East Engle King, brought Eadwine to his own again, it was by the Till Bridge Lane that they marched; and it was on the Idle, probably near Bawtry and Austerfield, that Æthelfrith was defeated.‡ In 633 Penda and Cadwallon joined their forces at Bawtry, crossed the river, and defeated Eadwine in battle on the Heathfield. Celtic tradition speaks of the struggle as the Battle of Meicen (or Meiceren),§ and the village of Misson, to the east of Austerfield, with its quadrangular plan, its ancient ferry, its parallel streets and lanes, may be the site of this old British town. Two important ecclesiastical councils were also held on this road: the Synod of Hæthfelth in 680,|| and the Synod of Ouestræfeld (Austerfield)¶ in 693. The importance of the Heathfield as a frontier position in the seventh century was a tradition from British times—a tradition supported by the necessities of its geographical situation. It helps to support the theory that the Limes Britannicus came down to the Idle.

2. THE STATION AT DONCASTER: DANUM.

The river Don was the southern border of the Brigantes. It has been pointed out** that

* Bede, *H. E.*, ii. 20.

† Green, *Making of England*, i. 64.

‡ Bede, *H. E.*, ii. 12.

§ Nennius, cp. *M. H. B.*, p. 75; "Annales Cambriæ," *ibid.*, p. 832.

|| Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 17.

¶ Bishop Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, p. 191.

** Guest's *Rotherham*, 1879.

in ancient times it could only be crossed at Doncaster, Conisbrough, Mexborough, Aldwarke, and Sheffield Castle. The station of Danum occurs on the fifth Iter: SEGELOCI. M.P. xiv. DANO M.P. xxi. LEGEOLIO. M.P. xvi.; and on the eighth Iter: LAGECIO M.P. xxi. DANO M.P. xvi. AGELOCO M.P. xxi. Many Roman remains have been found on the site of Doncaster—among others a statue of Bacchus—and the Roman ridge is a marked feature on the north of the river between Doncaster and Adwick-le-Street. Danum was the headquarters of the *Præfectus equitum Crispianorum*.

The distance between Doncaster and Templeborough is about twelve miles. The road keeps on high ground, and commands the Yorkshire hills, once the Border strongholds of the Brigantes. Sprotbrough, Mexborough, Barnbrough, Greasbrough doubtless indicate some of the Border strongholds against which Ostorius Scapula had to contend in A.D. 50. The river makes a loop to the north at Sprotbrough, but at Conisbrough it is near the road. Conisbrough Castle, with its ancient Celtic moat and Norman keep, must always have been a strong position, and after its conquest by the Romans was probably held as a *prætentura*, or guard-house, to protect the passage of the river at this point. The river makes another long loop by Mexborough, but nears the road again at Aldwarke. This name indicates another *prætentura* thrown out on the north bank of the river, not only to cover the passage, but to strengthen the lines between Greasbrough and Swinton, marked on the ordnance as Roman ridge. These lines were probably outworks thrown out against the fastnesses of Wharnccliffe, Worsborough, Stainborough, Kexbrough. About a mile to the west of Rotherham is the little hamlet of Templeborough.

(To be concluded.)



Some Darlington Grave-stones.

BY GEORGE A. FOTHERGILL, M.B.

SHOULD our descendants ever experience an age when the dead body may not lawfully be placed in a coffin and be buried underground—a not impossible contingency; when graveyards—improved away by the sanitary authorities—no longer exist; when all that is mortal in man is consigned to a crematorium, and eventually finds its way into tiny urns; then the grave-stone will perhaps be looked upon as a curiosity fit only for a museum—a valuable relic of a bygone age.

Our forefathers of certain periods seem to have treated the subjects of death and



FIG. 1.

eternity in a peculiarly light fashion, and even showed this by the way they adorned their tombstones—witness a legion of humorous and degrading epitaphs, some of which may still be read on the stones themselves. The same feeling is often shown by the decorative headings to stones, which in many cases amount to much worse than what is mildly termed grotesque design.

But there was another class of design much employed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as in the eighteenth, in the embellishment of grave-stone headings, and that was largely of an emblematical nature. This class of work possibly spread into England as a result of Albrecht Dürer's

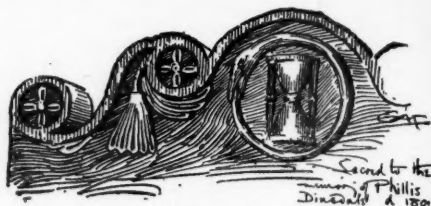


FIG. 2.

influence upon the whole art world during "that great flowering season of our art." Dürer, undoubtedly, was responsible for the wide interest taken by artists and sculptors after his time in emblems as applied to art. In no picture that I can call to mind are so many instruments and other things relating to emblems crowded together as in Dürer's "Melancholy," painted about 1490, the engraving after which is by now well known everywhere. He inspired those that came after him in a new direction. Both artists and sculptors learnt from him to express their thoughts on canvas and on stone or wood in a more figurative manner than had been previously done.

As most of us still continue to bury our dead, and as many a quiet old churchyard yet remains to tell a tale, it might perhaps be interesting for those who have not yet inquired into the subject to know the meaning of a few of the emblematical designs that one sees carved on some of the older tombstones here and there in different parts of the country.

Just recently I have made some drawings and sketches of grave-stone headings in Darlington and district, and have chosen three of these to illustrate my remarks. Oddly enough they were all done in one churchyard, that of St. Cuthbert's, Darlington, which is comparatively rich in this class of design, though the carving is not of a particularly high order.

The oldest grave-stone to be seen here is

dated 1727. Possibly some are even older, but no dates can be made out on them.

On one stone—sacred to the memory of Thomas Robinson, and dated 1766—are no less than six emblematical designs (Fig. 1). I take the small design on it near the moon to indicate "the game of life"; it is evidently meant for a chess-board. Below is a pair of compasses, the emblem of eternity. The closed book indicates, as a rule, uselessness, just as a pair of folded wings implies an

Antiquarian News.

[We shall be glad to receive information from our readers for insertion under this heading.]

AN interesting addition has just been made to the valuable collection at Horniman's Museum. It takes the form of the subterranean and other relics secured at different times by the workmen of the London County Council in their various excavations in the Metropolis. Some fine specimens of old English pottery and a large number of fire-plates used by the insurance companies, and the old sign of the Half-Moon Tavern, for many years a familiar object in the

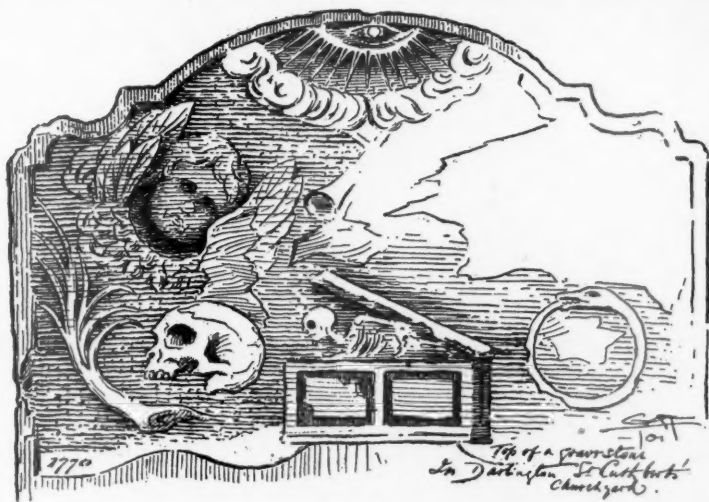


FIG. 3.

impotent aspiration which directs one's gaze towards heaven.

In another drawing (Fig. 2) is a well-carved hourglass. I have noticed a good many hourglasses on tombstones in this locality. It is, of course, the emblem of our transitory existence. In this particular case the serpent of life encircles it.

In the third illustration are at least eight or ten emblematical designs, by far the oddest of which is the sculptor's method of drawing our attention towards the resurrection of the dead—namely, a skeleton raising up the lid of its own tomb. The date of this head-stone is 1770. It is situated opposite, and close to, the west and main entrance to the church, on the north side of the walk.

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now demolished Holywell Street, figure among the latest additions to the handsome museum at Forest Hill.



Two more tombs of the prehistoric period have been found in the subsoil of the Roman Forum. One contained probably the remains of a child. In both were urns, with ashes, which showed that at that time—some eight centuries before the foundation of the city—both inhumation and cremation were practised. These tombs are among the most interesting finds made in the Forum in recent years.



"An archaeological discovery of great interest was made a few days ago," says the *Athenæum* of October 4, "in a bog in the northern part of Zealand, Denmark. It consists of a well-preserved bronze chariot for votive purposes, with the figure of a horse about 10 inches long in front, and showing an image of the sun of about the same measurement, and inlaid with gold on the one side, placed just behind the bronze horse.

2 X

The rich spiral ornaments, which cover both sides of the sun image, seem to indicate a very early date for the find."

A new and handsome library edition of *Montaigne's Essays and Letters*, translated by Cotton, and carefully re-edited by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt, with portraits and other illustrations, has just been issued by Messrs. Reeves and Turner in four large octavo volumes, bound in buckram.

PUBLICATIONS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

THE *Transactions* of the Birmingham Archæological Society for 1901 contain three papers, besides an account of the excursions of 1900 written by Mr. J. A. Cossins. The longest of the three is a careful account by Mr. Joseph Crouch of the history of Chipping Campden, the little Cotswold town which was a thriving centre of the wool-trade some four or five hundred years ago, and which yet retains much of a mediæval air. In its main street still stand two fourteenth-century houses, one of which was the ancient Wool Exchange, while the other was the residence of William Grevel, a noted wool-merchant, who died in 1401. The other papers are a good descriptive and historical account of "Middleton Hall, Warwickshire," by Mr. Egbert de Hamel, and "Birmingham Springs and Wells," by Mr. Howard S. Pearson—a useful contribution to local history. The financial statement at the end of the *Transactions* shows that the Society does not receive anything like the support which it should command in the Midland Metropolis.

We have received the *Transactions* of the Thoroton Society for 1901, which show that its sub-title of Antiquarian Society for Nottinghamshire is worthily claimed. The volume contains an illustrated account of an excursion to Retford and its neighbourhood, including Blyth, with its ancient Priory Church, of which good views are given, and several papers. Among these may be mentioned one on "Blyth," by Mr. W. Stevenson; "Notes on Osberton, etc.," by Lord Hawkesbury, accompanied by the pedigrees of a dozen families; the "Priory and Church of St. Peter's, Thurgarton," by the Rev. J. Standish, with a capital sketch of the beautiful tower of the church; and "Was Mary Queen of Scots ever at Hardwick Hall?"—a question answered by the writer, the Rev. F. Brodhurst, in the affirmative.

PROCEEDINGS OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETIES.

THE annual Congress of the BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was held at Westminster from September 15 to 19. The proceedings were highly successful, and we regret that the exigencies of space compel us to give but a brief report. On the first day, Monday, after the formal opening of the Congress, a visit was paid to the church of St. Mar-

garet, where Canon Henson spoke on the history of the building, and Mr. I. C. Gould related the history of the east window, painted 400 years ago at Dort or Gouda in Holland, and of its migrations from Holland to London, to Waltham, possibly to Copt Hall, to New Hall, Boreham, to Copt Hall again, and finally to St. Margaret's. Later the party went to Mr. Duppa Lloyd's house at West Kensington, where his fine collection of china and engravings was inspected. In the evening a conversazione was held in the Caxton Hall, Westminster.

Tuesday was devoted to a Kentish excursion. At Rochester Mr. George Payne, F.S.A., took the visitors over the castle, treating fully the history of the town and castle in Roman and mediæval times, and over the Cathedral, which had to be inspected somewhat hurriedly. In the afternoon the party drove to Cobham Hall and Church. At the Hall Lord Darnley welcomed his visitors, and Mr. Payne briefly told the history of the house. The vicar described the church, of which the chancel is the oldest part, being in the Early English style. During recent restoration a curious discovery was made of a staircase to the immediate south of the altar, apparently leading to a platform over the reredos, which may have been used for the exhibition of relics. Many fragments of carved figures were found among the rubbish excavated from the stairway, which may have belonged to the reredos. The remains of Cobham College were the last item of interest inspected. It was founded 36 Edward III. by John of Cobham as a perpetual chantry or college for five priests, these being afterwards increased to seven; after the Dissolution it was refounded by William Brooke, Lord Cobham, as an almshouse for twenty poor persons in 1598 on the south side of the church.

On Wednesday it was the turn of Surrey. Godalming was reached by rail, whence the party drove to Compton, where Mr. Ralph Nevill, F.S.A., acted as guide. The church is extremely interesting. Its most remarkable feature, which is almost unique, is the double chancel, as it is called for want of a better name. About half-way up a low Late Norman arch crosses the chancel, and above this is a small chapel extending from the east wall to the front of the arch, which is surmounted by a carved screen or balustrading, probably one of the most ancient pieces of woodwork in any ecclesiastical building in this country. Access to this chapel is now gained from the chancel, but formerly it was entered by a flight of steps on the outside. The drive was continued to Loseley Place, where the owner, Mr. William More-Molyneux, received the party, and Mr. Nevill spoke on the history of the Elizabethan mansion, and Dr. de Gray Birch and Mr. Malden described the splendid collection of sixteenth century MSS. After lunch Guildford was reached, and the various buildings of interest, familiar to most antiquaries—St. Mary's Church, the museum, the castle and Abbot's Hospital—were visited under the guidance of Mr. Nevill.

Thursday was the Essex day. Colchester was reached by rail, and Dr. Laver took charge of the party. At the castle, the museum, with its large collection of British and Roman antiquities, was duly inspected, and then Dr. Laver gave an account of the history of the fortress. After lunch the remains of

St. Botolph's Priory, of the great Abbey of St. John, and of the Roman Wall, St. Giles's Church, and Trinity Church were all visited.

Friday, the last day, was devoted to Westminster Abbey in the morning, and to Staple Inn in the afternoon. At the Abbey Canon Henson acted as guide, while at Staple Inn Mr. T. Cato Worsfield pointed out the various buildings of interest external to the Great Hall, including the rooms which were occupied by Dr. Johnson, and then led the way to the Hall, where he read an excellent paper on "The Story of Staple Inn."

The only meeting held during this Congress took place in the evening, at which Dr. Brushfield, F.S.A., read a paper on "Britain's Burse, or the New Exchange." The Burse, or New Exchange, was established upon the site of Denham House, and what is now Coutts's Bank. With reference to Denham House, which was Sir Walter Raleigh's principal residence, Dr. Brushfield remarked that there is no memorial in England to that great man except the American window in St. Margaret's Church, and he suggested that his family arms should be incised upon his monumental slab in Westminster Abbey. The paper was illustrated by many interesting maps and plans, one in particular dated 1666. In the copy of a lease in the possession of Dr. Brushfield the term "Britannia's Burse" is used, and is the only example yet found in which the building is so called. In 1737 the New Exchange had become a thing of the past; it was opened with a great flourish of trumpets 130 years earlier.

Several other papers contributed for the Congress were taken as read, among which may be mentioned: "Oatlands in Weybridge," by S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A.; "Some Hitherto Unpublished Incidents in the History of King Alfred," by Dr. Phené, F.S.A.; "The Effects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries on Popular Education," by the Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley; and "The Ancient History of Hainault Forest before the Norman Conquest," by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, after which the proceedings terminated with the usual votes of thanks, and the fifty-ninth Congress was brought to a conclusion.

The quarterly meeting of the ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND was held at Kilkenny on October 7. After the business meeting visits were paid to the castle and picture-gallery, St. Mary's Church, in the yard of which is a thirteenth-century monument; the museum in Rothe's House, the Black Abbey and its stone coffins, St. Francis' Abbey, with its seven-light window and ancient font; the remains of the city wall, and St. Canice's Cathedral, with many relics of interest. At the evening meeting papers were read on "Extracts from some Ancient Documents of the Corporation of Cashel," by Mr. T. Laffan; "Ulster Emigration to America," by the Rev. W. T. Latimer; and "Notes on Gowran, Tullaherin, and Kilfane," by the Rev. Canon Hewson.

The autumn council meeting of the BRISTOL AND GLOUCESTERSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY was held on September 15, Sir Brook Kay, Bart., in the

chair.—After the minutes of the last meeting had been read, reference was made to the death of that learned Gloucestershire antiquary, the Rev. David Royce, M.A., one of the original members of the society. Mr. Royce had held the living of Nether Swell for over half a century, and during that period had done much for archaeology, as well as considerable literary work. He possessed a very valuable collection of flint implements and weapons found on the Cotswolds. His important work on the *Wincombe Cartulary*, the first volume of which was issued in 1892, is fortunately left in an almost finished condition, and the second volume may, therefore, be expected before long. Several new members nominated by the hon. secretary for Bristol, Mr. J. E. Pritchard, F.S.A., were then elected. The society now numbers over 500 members. The secretary's report was of a most satisfactory nature, and the hon. editor, Rev. C. S. Taylor, F.S.A., reported good progress, the first part of the *Transactions* of the current year being well in hand. As to finance, which is in a most healthy condition, the hon. treasurer made a lucid statement respecting the society's funds, and it was decided by the council to invest a further sum of £200 in Consols. After satisfactory reports as to the spring meeting held at Banwell and neighbourhood, and the summer meeting at Tewkesbury, the places of meeting for 1903 were again discussed. It was finally decided to visit Great Sherstone and Malmesbury for the spring excursion, and the cordial invitation of the Gloucester members to make that city the "headquarters" for the summer meeting was unanimously accepted.

The annual meeting of the EAST RIDING ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY was held at Hornsea on September 22, 23. On the afternoon of the first day the members drove to Skipsea, passing Atwick Cross on the way. This is not only the best preserved cross in the East Riding, but is also of the greatest value, as Paulson carefully measured its distance from the sea in his time, and in the rapid wearing away of the coast it forms a standard of the erosion second to none. On arriving at Skipsea, Mr. Boyle gave a short account of the church and parish. The name Skipsea is derived from the mere or lake which once was here, and on whose sides browsed the sheep (Anglo-Saxon *skip*). It is not mentioned in Domesday, but was of importance from the great Castle Drogo of Brevery, built on a vast artificial mound, still standing. After the Conquest Skipsea became part of the Earl of Albemarle's property, and was by him given to the Abbey of Almac in Normandy. It became wealthy enough for Edward I. to seize upon and appropriate the revenues. The Norman monks whose duty was to repair the chancel built it of sea rubble, and it is in striking contrast to the solid square masonry of the nave. So, as Mr. Boyle said, even in those days property forgot it had duties as well as rights. On returning to Hornsea Mr. Boyle gave an account of the parish church there. In the evening the annual dinner was held, Lord Hawkesbury presiding, which was followed by the annual meeting. Later the Rev. E. M. Cole gave a lecture on "Norman Work in Wold Churches," and Mr.

J. R. Mortimer read a paper on the "Physical Constitution of the Ancient Britons."

The first place visited on the second day's excursion was Mappleton, and on the way members stopped at Rowston Hall to view the collection of antiquities in the possession of Mr. Haworth Booth. These consisted of three large pieces of tapestry of Queen Elizabeth's time, so elaborate that it is said to have taken a skilled workman twelve hours to do a square inch, a vertebra of the ichthyosaurus found in the lias at Hornsea, a pardon by Henry VI. of Thomas Howarth, an ancestor of the present owner, and an interesting if not an antiquarian object in the cannon ball fired by Paul Jones at Admiral Brough's house, he being charged with looking after the pirates of the north-east coast. From Rowston the party drove to Mappleton, where the only ancient feature of the church is the tower, Aldborough, and Garton. At the last place the party stopped to see the very interesting church, where the most remarkable feature was the head of an ancient churchyard cross, found in recent years, and placed in its present position through the generosity of Colonel Hobart. The objects of interest were pointed out and explained by the Rev. J. A. Donovan, the rector. The return to Hornsea was made by way of Witherwick and Goxhill.



Reviews and Notices of New Books.

[Publishers are requested to be so good as always to mark clearly the prices of books sent for review, as these notices are intended to be a practical aid to book-buying readers.]

THE ROLL-CALL OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY. By Mrs. A. Murray Smith (E. T. Bradley). With illustrations and plans. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1902. 8vo., pp. xii, 418. Price 6s.

This volume is more than a tribute of filial piety to Dean Bradley, whose retirement has just brought his honourable custodianship of the Abbey of abbeys to a close. It is a full narrative, at once scholarly and entertaining, of the English worthies whose dust confers a glory upon the building quite apart from that which it owes to its builders or to the scenes which have been enacted within it. Many visitors to Westminster Abbey, whether acquainted or not with one of the most characteristic of the *Spectator* essays, must have felt with Addison "what innumerable multitudes of people lay confused together under the pavement of that ancient cathedral; how men and women, friends and enemies, priests and soldiers, monks and prebendaries, were crumbled amongst one another, and blended together in the same common mass; how beauty, strength, and youth, with old age, weakness, and deformity, lay undistinguished in the same promiscuous heap of matter." It is, we suspect, this very abundance of celebrated mortality (if we may so call it) which induces a kind of melancholy in the mind of the visitor. But to those who

have the will to perceive the greatness of England and her incomparable roll-call of famous men and women, and who also have the blessed faculty of appreciating the less honoured ones, of revering

Every fervent yet resolute heart
That brought its tameless passion and its tears,
Renunciation and laborious years,
To lay the deep foundations of our race,—

to such as these Mrs. Murray Smith's volume will be a welcome mine of information. Her classification of chapters reminds us of the arrangement of the galleries in our own National Portrait Gallery, and we think the principle is sound and appropriate. Up to a certain point in our history the division must be fairly dynastic. But after the Tudor times it becomes possible to treat separately of "Naval and Military Heroes," "Actors and Actresses" (a record in its way as curious and pathetic as the chapter on "The Children of the Abbey"), "The Musicians," and "The Makers of our Indian Empire." We think that Mrs. Murray Smith has indulged the true historical sense in paying as much attention to the less praiseworthy interments in the Abbey as to the best deserved burials; for instance, in her admirable chapter on the "Poets, Poetasters, and Men of Letters in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," we are given an admirable insight into those most artificial and hypocritical periods which could extol their Shadwells as well as their Drydens. As a collection of careful biographical detail concerning the multitude whom nobility or notoriety has gathered within these walls, this book forms a worthy pendant to the volumes of *Annals* and *The Deanery Guide* which its authoress has previously produced. For the future editions which will doubtless appear we may offer one slight correction, "1255" for "1055" on page 20. We may add that the photographic illustrations are well chosen, and that the plans and index are as good as they should be.—W. H. D.

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BOOKS, TRACTS, ETC., PRINTED IN DUBLIN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Compiled by E. R. McC. Dix; with notes by C. W. Dugan, M.A. Part III., 1651-1675. Dublin: O'Donoghue and Co.; London: B. Dobell. 1902. 4to., pp. xii, 89-156. Price 2s. 6d.

We are glad to chronicle the issue of another part of Mr. Dix's useful and very thorough bibliography. The books and tracts noted are not of great literary interest—they consist largely of proclamations, ordinances, sermons, and pamphlets—but include many of historical value. Mr. Dix gives a short title and careful collation of each item, and adds in the last column of each page a reference to the whereabouts of existing copies—a feature of particular use to other bibliographers and collectors. The bibliography proper is preceded by a few pages of biographical and historical notes of much interest by Mr. C. W. Dugan. We notice especially good notes on the origin of the term "Tory," and on the ordinance of 1654 on destroying wolves. The last wolf in Ireland was not killed till 1710, while fifty years earlier lands only nine miles from Dublin were leased on condition of a pack of wolf-hounds being kept. There are one or two slight misprints—"Hazlett," on page 103, for

instance, should be "Hazlitt"—but the part is well printed and most creditably produced.

* * *
ALBRECHT DÜRER. By Lina Eckenstein. "Popular Library of Art." 37 illustrations. London: Duckworth and Co. [1902.] 16mo., pp. xii, 261. Price, cloth, 2s. net; leather, 2s. 6d. net.

Miss Eckenstein's study is somewhat more biographical than either of those which preceded it in this most attractive "Library," with the result that the critical part is not entirely satisfactory. The primary purpose of this series of books is to present a critical essay on each master's work, and Miss Eckenstein would have been well advised, we think, to subordinate more thoroughly the account of Dürer's life, of his goings and comings, to the study of his work. But having indulged in this grumble, our fault-finding is at an end. We have read the book with the greatest interest and pleasure. Dürer stood at the parting of the ways. He died as the old order was giving place to the new. The strenuousness of his work, the nobility of his aims, his intense devotion to truth, his constant dissatisfaction with what he had achieved, and eager desire to do better—all the marks, in short, of his personal character and artistic genius, were related to the time of unrest and upheaval in which he lived. Equally striking were his purely artistic qualities, his extraordinary truth and power as a draughtsman, the veracity of his portraiture, and the beauty of his colouring. Dürer's paintings are less esteemed in this country than they are abroad, but his masterly drawings and sketches are equally valued everywhere. The illustrations in this little book are admirable reproductions of many of his paintings, engravings, and woodcuts. They enable the reader to realize how thoroughly Dürer stands for the highest achievements of German mediæval art.

* * *
BRITTANY. By S. Baring-Gould. Illustrated by Miss J. Wylie; with 3 maps. London: Methuen and Co. 1902. Pott 8vo., pp. xii, 247. Price 3s.

This dainty volume sustains the reputation of Messrs. Methuen's "Little Guides," which was earned by Mr. Wells' admirable book on Oxford. They are meant to supplement rather than supplant the "Baedeker" or "Murray," and since of the making of books there can be no end, he would be an idle grumbler who should refuse their right to exist. Brittany is not so well-known as Normandy to the travelling Englishman, and yet a denizen of Great Britain might well be moved to visit that "Lesser Britain" across the Channel which is connected with Wales by so many ties of nationality. Mr. Baring-Gould evidently knows the country and its people well, and his informing pages show that there is plenty of inducement for such visits. The people are charming, the accommodation adequate for the *bonâ fide* traveller, and although there be no mountain ranges or majestic scenery, the antiquarian and architectural features of the five Departments of which Brittany is composed have a considerable and singular interest. The prehistoric remains, which abound in single menhirs, circular cromlechs, and *allées couvertes*, are here abundantly described; and the remarkable little churches of carved granite which

enshrine the aspirations of a people peculiarly tenacious of their religious faith, should become much better known for Mr. Baring-Gould's sympathetic treatment of their history and artistic charm. Miss Wylie's clever sketches are in each case true illustrations of the text. By the courtesy of the publishers we are enabled to reproduce her drawing of the Church of Notre Dame de Confort, near Quimper,



remarkable not only for its gracefully intricate spire, but for its typical "Calvary." As was to be expected from Mr. Baring-Gould, many a legend is woven into this tale, such as the story of St. Cadoc (though the phrase "the salvability of Virgil" caused us a shudder!). The volume is further furnished with excellent maps, a useful list of the typical statues of saints to be found on churches, chapels, and holy wells, and a most attractive guide to the "pardon" ceremonies which characterize Breton life. The volume should take many a traveller to Brittany, and no traveller there should be without it.

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WEDNESBURY, ANCIENT AND MODERN. By Frederick W. Hackwood, F.R.S.L. Illustrations. Wednesbury: Ryder and Sons. 1902. 8vo., pp. 135.

This book, of which only a limited number have been issued, contains a reprint of a series of articles contributed by Mr. Hackwood to the *Wednesbury*

Herald, which deal chiefly with the manorial and municipal history of the borough. The author, by the way, makes out a strong case for the usually accepted etymology of the town's name—i.e., from *Woden*, the Saxon god, and *beorh*, a hill—an etymology endorsed, we note, by Mr. W. H. Duignan in his recently published *Notes on Staffordshire Place-Names*. No traces of the occupation of the town's site in prehistoric times have been discovered, and the relics of Roman occupation are extremely scanty, so Mr. Hackwood soon gets to the Saxon period and the battles of A.D. 592 and 715. Thence through Norman and mediæval times he traces the descent of the manor, with a wealth of detail respecting the various families the heads of which were in succession the manorial lords. There is, consequently, much in these pages which should interest students of Midland genealogy. The later municipal history of the borough is treated with less fulness, but with a sufficiency of detail. A fair index concludes a book which, if not very attractive in form—double-columned pages are not a delight to the reader—certainly contains the results of much careful and conscientious labour.

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Vol. xxix. of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (vol. v. of the supplementary set) has appeared with commendable punctuality. It extends from Glarus to Jutland. There are hardly any articles of archaeological interest, but literature and art are very strongly represented. In the latter department Mr. Laurence Housman's history of the art of "Illustration," Mr. MacColl's "Impressionism," and Mr. Spielmann's "Jewellery"—the jeweller's art of the last quarter of a century—are especially good. Literary biographies abound, and here one feels a little inclined to grumble at the proportions in which space has been allotted. Why should the life of Stanley Jevons, who did excellent but not epoch-making work in economics and logic, be treated at thrice the length allowed to the late Sir Walter Besant's account of Richard Jefferies, a writer *sui generis*? Or, again, why should General Gordon get thrice the space allotted to Oliver Wendell Holmes? But in these matters, no doubt, the personal equation counts for much, and it would be impossible to please all tastes. Another excellent biographical article, besides those named, is the General Grant of John Fiske—a masterly bit of work. Mr. Austin Dobson brings the original Hogarth article up to date, and Mr. Swinburne is as eloquent and enthusiastically dithyrambic as ever in writing of Victor Hugo. Other noteworthy biographies which we can only mention are: J. R. Green, by the Rev. W. Hunt; Earl Grey, by Dr. Garnett; Frank Holl, by Dr. Stephens; Huxley, by Sir W. T. T. Dyer; Joubert, by J. A. J. de Villiers; and Jowett, by Professor Lewis Campbell. In another department the most significant article is that on Japan, in which not only the very full geographical and historical sections, but those also on the General Pictorial Art and on the Lacquer and Illustrated Books of the great Island Empire of the East are a revelation of the changes which the last quarter of a century has brought in the internal economy of Japan and in its relations to the rest of the world. Accompanying the article are good reproductions of Japanese pictures. The long and deeply interesting account of the rapid and extra-

ordinary revolution in Japanese institutions and ideas since 1867 brings together in convenient form many facts and figures not otherwise very accessible. Other countries whose recent history is brought up to date in this volume are Holland, Hungary, Greece, the Hawaiian Islands, India, and Italy. Scientific articles are hardly so numerous or so important as in some previous volumes, but Professor Burnside's Theory of Groups, Professor Greenhill's Gunner and Gyroscope, Dr. Mitchell's Heredity, Mr. Sharpe's Insects, and Dr. Gunther's Ichthyology, may be named here. In Theology the outstanding article is Professor Stanton's paper on the Gospels—a most useful summary of recent theories and discussions treated from a reverent and conservative standpoint. Among the more miscellaneous articles, Golf, Hunting, and Horse-racing will appeal to many readers, while Hops and Hop-growing, Grain Trade of the World, Homeopathy, Income-tax, Hypnotism, Insurance, Influenza, and many others, are all excellent in their various ways. The prefatory essay by Mr. Benjamin Kidd on "The Application of the Doctrine of Evolution to Sociological Theory and Problems," though somewhat wordy, is well worth reading.

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We have received a copy of the second and much enlarged edition of the Rev. R. A. Bullen's little book on *Harlyn Bay*, and the *Discoveries of its Prehistoric Remains* (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1902). It contains a good account of the many relics—slate, shell, and flint implements, skeletons, coins, urns, etc.—which were included in the great "find" at Harlyn Bay in 1900, and a description of the localities explored. The numerous excellent illustrations add much to the value of the book.

* * *

Numismatists will be attracted by the article in the *Reliquary*, October, on "False Shekels," by Mr. G. F. Hill, a master of the subject. The other papers in a good number include a very exact and full description of the remarkable font at Dolton, Devonshire, by Mr. A. G. Langdon, with a suggestive commentary by Mr. Romilly Allen, F.S.A.; and illustrated articles on "The Parks of Ringmer, in Sussex," by Mr. Heneage Legge, and on "The Churches of Hayling Island," by Mr. Russell Larkby. Among the "Notes" is one on an enamelled fish-shaped fibula lately dug up near London Wall. In the *Genealogical Magazine*, October, Mr. Fox-Davies discourses on the question, "Is the Red Dragon Welsh after all?" "The Arms of the English Royal Family" and one or two other serial papers are continued, and there is a brief article on "Samuel Slade Benton." By far the most attractive thing in the *Archæological Review* for October is the continuation of the valuable study of "Mediæval Figure Sculpture in England," by Messrs. E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, with many excellent illustrations. We hope that these admirable papers will be collected by and by for re-issue in volume form. The *Review* also contains the second part of an illustrated account of the "Life and Works of Charles Robert Cockerell, R.A."

* * *

Devon Notes and Queries, October, abounds in useful and interesting notes calculated to suit every variety of antiquarian palate. There are five good

plates, including a picture of the elaborately carved oak pulpit at East Allington, and another of the ancient wall-painting recently discovered in Ashton Church. In *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, October, are two plates of the City of Lincoln civic swords, with a good article thereon by Mr. J. G. Williams. No. 11 of the Hull Museum Publications is the second *Quarterly Record of Additions* (sold at the Museum, price one penny), which include the famous Caistor Gad-whip, about which so much has been written. The illustrations include one of the whip. We are glad to hear that so great has been the demand for these useful and very cheap pamphlets that Nos. 2 and 3 have had to be reprinted, and are now on sale in a second edition. The *East Anglian* for September contains an illustrated article on "Bell-shaped Mortars," by the Rev. W. C. Pearson, which may be regarded as a useful supplement to Miss Peacock's papers in vol. xxxiii. of the *Antiquary*. We have also on our table the *Architects' Magazine*, September and October, the *County Monthly*, October, and *Sale Prices*, September 30.



Correspondence.

MOATED MOUNDS.

TO THE EDITOR.

MR. RUTTER's very interesting papers in the August and September numbers of the *Antiquary* raise several very important points:

1. He is quite right about Penwortham: I failed to find out from Mr. Thorner's account of the excavations that the wooden remains were buried, and the surface overgrown with grass, before the Normans threw up their *motte* on top of it; but this afterwards was made clear to me on reading the much more lucid account in Hardwick's *History of Preston*.

2. As regards the word *mota*, though it is undoubtedly sometimes used for the whole castle (as in the treaty between Stephen and Henry II.), there are plenty of passages which make it clear that in strictness it refers to the keep mound—for instance, in the Close Rolls of 1224 it is ordered that the *mota* of Bedford Castle is to be levelled with the ground, and the outer bailey is to be also levelled: Henry III. gives the bailey of Worcester Castle to the Bishop, but retains the *motte* for himself (Close Rolls, 1216). See also the passage cited from Suger by Mr. Neilson in his extremely valuable paper on "The Motes in Norman Scotland" (*Scottish Review*, 1898). Ducange defines *mota* as "collis, seu tumulus, cui inædificatur castellum," and Muratori laughs at Somner for translating *mota* as *moat*. I may add that I use the word *motte* simply in order to avoid the confusion with *moat*.

3. *Bretasche* has two meanings assigned it (I think by Ducange): a wooden tower, or the wooden brattice-work, which was afterwards replaced by stone machicolations. I have met with no unequivocal instance of its use in the latter sense, plenty of instances of the

former; e.g., Henry III. in 1225 orders all those who have *mottes* in the valley of Montgomery to provide them with good *bretasches* without delay (Close Rolls); the Constable of Newcastle is ordered to remove the *bretasche* of Nafferton and place it at the gate of the drawbridge of Newcastle, instead of the little tower which is now ruinous (Close Rolls, 1221). When Edward I. substitutes stone walls for wooden ones in Bülth Castle, he orders the best *bretasche* to be given to Roger Mortimer (Close Rolls, 1277). *Bretasches* are very frequently mentioned as gatehouse towers.

4. I cannot see any reason to doubt that the pictures of mounds in the Tapestry relate to castles, and that of Hastings, with its inscription, seems to me specially clear.

5. I quite agree with Mr. Rutter that there is a class of castles where the plan is a small area enclosed in or annexed to a large one, but this type seems to me directly derived from the *motte* and bailey type. In some cases, as at Chepstow, Montgomery, and Nottingham, I believe there was actually a *motte*, which has been lowered when the stone constructions were put up. At Nottingham we know that there was one, because the "mota de Nottingham" is mentioned in a Mise Roll, and where the stone keep took the place of the *motte*, the type of a citadel separately ditched as a last resort still prevailed. The innumerable manorial earthworks of England, which have hardly received any attention from archaeologists, are generally on this type of a small enclosure within a large one.

6. I think a *motte* is to be suspected wherever the word *mote* occurs. Downton, in *Beauties of England and Wales*, is said to have "a large conical mound or keep."

7. With regard to the use of *mottes* in blockading towns, Anthony à Wood says there was a mount outside Oxford Castle called the Jews' Mount, "being at first raised by Jews, some say by command of King Stephen when he besieged the castle." Mr. Neilson thinks we still have the Malvoisin of William II. outside Bamborough Castle. I should like to see it critically examined, and also to know if *mottes* are to be found at any other places (as is the case at Bridgenorth) where siege castles are said to have been erected.

8. I do not see sufficient ground for Mr. Rutter's statement that an exceptional type of tower is used when a banked enclosure takes the place of the *motte*. Many of our finest keeps do not stand upon *mottes*, but have or have had a small ward of their own, as at Scarborough, Ludlow, Richmond, and Bamborough.

9. The plan of Carlisle shows that the castle was outside the mediæval wall, as Mr. Clark states it to have been. The Tower of London was on or within the Roman wall, but the bailey was outside. The position of York Castle was similar, as the *motte* of the castle was placed partly on the Roman wall, while the bailey was outside. It is true that the city had far outgrown its Roman bounds at that time, but it does not appear that the mediæval extension of the walls was begun till after the Conquest.

10. My mistake about Wareham Castle was pointed out to me by Mr. Round, and Mr. Eyton's statement that Corfe was really the castle misnamed Wareham

in Domesday Book is confirmed by the *Testa de Nevill*, p. 488.

I must join issue with Mr. Pryce Davies in his contention that each instance of a moated mound should be put to the test of its own merits. It is largely by the use of the comparative method that so much progress has been made in every branch of knowledge in recent years. There is a law to be recognised in things of the same type: people in the tribal stage of development construct fortifications of a tribal type; people in the feudal stage construct them of the feudal type. Another correspondent thinks the moot-hill theory has attractions. I should recommend him to read Dr. Christison's remarks on moot-hills in *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, and Mr. Neilson's in the *Scottish Review* for 1898. If ever any of our *mottes* came to be moot-hills, it was because they had previously been *mottes*, and as such the seat of manorial or baronial courts. I hope before long to be able to bring forward strong evidence that the Dane John at Canterbury was the *motte* of the first Norman castle. I know of no evidence for its being Saxon. Sweyn of Rayleigh was the son of a Norman, and his castle was not built till after the Conquest, as he did not own the manor in King Edward's time (see Freeman, iii, 9, 413).

ELLA S. ARMITAGE.

MAIDEN CASTLES, ETC.

TO THE EDITOR.

In the question between Mr. Goddard in the August number and Mr. MacRitchie in the September, one of Mr. Goddard's examples needs to be examined carefully: the name Maiden Bradley, in Wilts. Mr. Goddard's view is attractive. It is that the place took its first name from the hospital for leprous women founded there in the reign of Henry II. and attached to the monastery, and his main argument is that in Domesday we find Bradlei alone, but about the beginning of the thirteenth century Maiden Bradley.

Now, too much stress must not be laid upon the occurrence of the single name in Domesday. In five adjacent parishes, the Deverills, where there are double—that is, Celtic and English—names, and where the double name would have prevented confusion, only the Celtic name is given, although in at least three of them (Kingston, Monkton, and Brixton) there were English names before Domesday. This points to a certain freedom of usage in designation. Again, in none of the Latin documents relating to Bradley which have been published does the name ever appear otherwise than Mayden and other variant spellings; it is never Latinized. Some instinct seems to have kept the writers straight, yet we find Deverill Monachorum (Monkton), and once Deverill Puellarum, because of some land held by the nunnery of Fontevrault, in Normandy. Further, had the hospital for leprous women given it the name, we should have expected to find Bradley de Lepris or Leprosarium. Nor can it be argued that, because a nunnery might cause the name Deverill Puellarum, a society of seculars, called Procuratores Mulierum,

who afterwards were changed into an Augustinian Priory ("sororibus leprosis et fratribus ibidem Deo servientibus," says a document of about 1200), could originate a similar name for Bradley.

To turn to the place itself. Above it is Long Knoll, 800 feet, and, rising out of the plain to 945 feet, "a conspicuous round hill, resembling in some points of view an immense tumulus" (Hoare, *Hundred of Mere*, p. 93). We should expect, no doubt, to find in a double name that one explains the other—that is, assuming that Maiden means "high hill"—and on the analogy of Der-went-water and Stert Point and many other instances to find something like Maiden Highcliff; but that is not necessary. And here we have an additional description in the name Brad-lei, not an explanation. (Here those who see in Maiden a word meaning "broad plain" will seize their chance, but more evidence is required for this meaning.)

But to refer the name to the women seems just to be popular etymology. You may take it as a law that a strange name invariably breeds a folk-myth sooner or later. To take instances from the neighbourhood, there is the Meresfield myth at Salisbury to explain the name; the "old chapel" myth at Corton to explain "Chettle hole"; and modern mythologists have seen at Kingston Deverill, which joins Bradley, certain large stones, which they called "King's stones," to account for Kingston, which is really King's-tun, because it belonged to the Crown; and they have invented a "minster" to account for Warminster. No doubt some day we shall be told that, because the Bristol Channel pilots live at Pill, the place is named from them.

I suspect that the name of a farm at Bradley, often written Katesbench, but anciently Gatesbench, has got that form from some latent influence of the "leprose mulieres" theory.

There is at Chapmanslade, Wilts, a farm called Dead Maid or Maiden, but I know of no mound or stone from which it can take its name. The neighbourhood is open and rather broken, and a high isolated hill is about a mile off. It stands at four cross-roads, and here the popular account is that a woman who committed suicide was buried there and staked down. But both this place and Maiden Bradley I should prefer to class with Mr. MacRitchie's list, not with Mr. Goddard's.

J. U. POWELL.

ERRATA.

In *Antiquary* for October—

Page 310, column 2, line 10, read "MCXV."

Page 310, column 2, line 12, read "MCXI."

Page 311, column 1, line 6 from bottom, read "Bienfaite."

NOTE TO PUBLISHERS.—We shall be particularly obliged to publishers if they will always state the price of books sent for review.

TO INTENDING CONTRIBUTORS.—Unsolicited MSS. will always receive careful attention, but the Editor cannot return them if not accepted unless a fully stamped and directed envelope is enclosed. To this rule no exception will be made.